

LAND USE AND SETTLEMENT ON A
HIGHLAND ESTATE:
STRATHSPEY
1750-1870

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the changing pattern of rural land use and settlement on the 74,694 hectare Strathspey Estate and describes the evolutionary and revolutionary processes operating between 1750 and 1870 that have contributed to the present day landscape.

Using the estate documents, which include the work of land surveyors during the years 1765-72, 1804-13 and 1859-69, it is possible to illustrate the individual character of the planning policies of successive land owners, the importance of resource re-evaluation in the planning process and the actions of tenant farmers responding not only to the directions of the landlord but also to the prevailing environmental and socio-economic conditions.

The idealistic policies of an 18th century Highland Chief-comes-improving land owner trying to fit lowland ideas to a highland situation were only partially successful but provided the basis on which further developments could take place during the 19th century when Strathspey was no longer the focal point of management policy but only the peripheral part of a much larger lowland property. A period of relative agricultural inactivity during the first half of the 19th century can be attributed to a number of local factors but during this time estate policy diversified, adopting an integrated land use approach in response to a growing demand for timber and sport.

Subsequently, under better economic circumstances in the mid 19th century agricultural improvement once more progressed rapidly, but this was largely based on a pattern of farm holdings that had evolved

directly from the previous century and not on a policy of 'Highland Clearance' to make way for sheep. Although emigration did take place a growing population was accommodated on crofting lots located at nodal points on the estate to provide a labour force for farming, forestry, sport and railway and road construction.

Changes in land use and settlement were neither uniform in style nor uniform in time within the estate and from one estate to the next and the resulting landscape is seen as the balance between evolutionary and revolutionary processes at work in the period 1750-1870.

DECLARATION

This Thesis has been composed by the undersigned
and is based on his own research.

D.M. Munro

31 July, 1983

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GD	Gifts and deposits held in the Scottish Record Office.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NSA	<u>The New Statistical Account of Scotland</u> , by the ministers of the respective parishes, 15 vols., Edinburgh, 1845.
OSA	<u>Statistical Account of Scotland</u> , edited by Sir John Sinclair, 21 vols., Edinburgh, 1791-99.
PSAS	Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
RHP	'Register House Plan' held in the Scottish Record Office.
SC	'Sheriff Court' Records held in the Scottish Record Office.
SGM	Scottish Geographical Magazine.
SHS	Scottish History Society.
SRO	Scottish Record Office.
TIBG	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.
VR	'Valuation Rolls' held in the Scottish Record Office.

Introduction.

Beyond the wastes of Badenoch where heather moor, mountain stream and trackless peat bog combine to form a traditional air of lonely highland desolation the scene changes to one of striking variety in Strathspey, a narrow tongue of settled farmland that penetrates the mountainous interior of the Grampian Uplands. Here, in the heart of the Scottish Highlands, the schists and granites of this great massif have been cut deeply both by the action of glacial ice sheets and of the River Spey to create a broad strath lying between 700 and 1,000 feet (210-300m.) above sea level. Long renowned for its salmon and pearls the Spey flows in a north-easterly direction through birch wood and pine forest intermixed with farmland and scattered village settlements. To the north and west roll the featureless, flat-topped Monadhliath, whilst to the south and east the corrie-scarred Cairngorms rise up to form the most extensive area of land over 3,000 feet (1,000m.) anywhere in Britain.

Today, Strathspey is not only one of the most densely populated areas of the Highlands but also one of the most popular tourist resorts in the whole of Scotland. For over a hundred years summer hill walkers, climbers and naturalists have been attracted by its great scenic beauty and diversity of wildlife, and in recent years sportsmen have flocked in ever increasing numbers to the ski slopes of the Cairngorms, extending the tourist season throughout the winter months. In order to conserve at least a part of the aesthetic and ecological value of Strathspey's natural resources from over-exploitation and degradation as a result of human pressure some areas of special interest have come under official protection. One of

Europe's largest National Nature Reserves stretches over 64,000 acres (25,900ha.) of the Cairngorms protecting by agreement with local land owners a wide range of habitats from pine-clad slopes to arctic-alpine summits, whilst in the midst of Abernethy forest at Loch Garten a famous osprey nesting site is guarded by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds.

The rapid development of tourism and recreation in this section of the Spey Valley since the mid-1960s has added a new dimension to the traditional way of life in an area where for many generations cropland, grazing, forest and grouse moor have been the basis of the rural economy. As more components of the geographical pattern have come into use the possibility of conflicting interests has required that planners in association with land owners and the local community must work out a rational plan for the future development of Strathspey and the Cairngorm country. This involves a re-evaluation of biological, economic, recreational, aesthetic and ecological resources - in short an understanding of the intricate relationship between man and his immediate environment.

Already the area has been the subject of a wide variety of specialist and general studies. Hinxman and Anderson (1915), Young (1975,77) and Sugden (1977), are amongst some who have described the evolution of the physical landscape, Birse (1971) has broadly defined the prevailing climatic conditions, Birks (1970), Pears (1968) and Watt and Jones (1948) have worked on various aspects of vegetational history and Watson and Nethersole-Thomson (1981) have studied in some detail the wildlife of the Cairngorm and surrounding area. On the

human side, although Pears(1968) has sketched a brief picture of the balance between population and resources since man first appeared in the Spey Valley, the bulk of the literature relates to the recent impact of the fast-growing tourist industry. Two separate studies of the Cairngorm area by the Scottish Development Department (1967) and the University of Edinburgh Department of Urban Design and Regional Planning (1978) are major works in the process of resource re-evaluation, whilst a special issue of the Geographical Magazine (1980) entitled 'Conflict in the Cairngorms' has added to the widespread and controversial debate on the future development of the area.

Despite sweeping views of rural grandeur and apparent great natural beauty the impact of man on the landscape of Strathspey has been a dramatic one. Aviemore alone stands out as a prime example of the changes brought about by recent touristic developments. But the landscape is never static, for great changes have taken place throughout the history of human settlement in the Spey Valley. Man's actions in the present and the future are not only restricted by the prevailing physical, social and economic conditions but also by previous actions that have created the patterns in the landscape that we see today.

Wagner and Miksell (1962) suggest that 'any sign of human action in a landscape implies a culture, recalls a history and demands an ecological interpretation.' In the context of Strathspey and the Cairngorm area, therefore, an understanding of the cultural as well as the physical landscape must be an essential part of the evaluation process.

For Darby (1963) the role of the geographer is quite clear since his definition of geography is simply 'the study of places as they have been, and are being transformed by the hand of man.' More specifically Grigg (1967) points out the relevant contribution that the historical geographer can make to the interpretation of an area such as this by analysing the evolution of the cultural landscape. A study of this kind brings together the two separate disciplines of history and geography in an approach 'which will often provide or stimulate new ideas about form, function and formation.' (Kerridge, 1976)

Resource values are 'neither absolute nor constant' (Tivy, 1973), and in this respect, perhaps one of the greatest periods of re-evaluation in the past has been the 18th-19th century Agricultural Revolution which has been described as a time when 'the geographical appearance of the Scottish countryside was remodelled to conform to new theories of husbandry and to the new conception of commercial rather than subsistence farming.' (Third, 1957) Agrarian studies by Symon (1959), Handley (1953), Gray (1957), Mitchison (1962) and others have detailed the ideas and methods of the age, at the same time shedding some light on the theorists and pioneers who were responsible for promoting improvement and change in the landscape.

Although looking more to the lowlands of Scotland Tivy (1973) has viewed 18th-19th century agricultural development in terms of biological and economic resource re-evaluation, suggesting that the growing economic value of agricultural produce necessitated a maximization of biological value, ie. in terms of biomass or nutritive

value. The result was one of regional specialisation in farming with the concentration of crops or crop combinations in those areas which would give the highest returns on invested capital. In the broader context of land use as a whole this is clearly a time when land owner and tenant in both the Highlands and the Lowlands were reassessing the capability of their land and rethinking their approach to land management, not just with agriculture in mind but with a view to more integrated developments including forestry, sport and industry. The evidence for this is to be found in volumes of estate correspondence and countless maps and plans of the period - sources that are of fundamental importance to the historical geographer attempting to reconstruct the landscape of improvement.

In recent years the historical development of the Scottish Highlands has been the subject of many publications seeking either to explain the ruined croft house or abandoned field that is all too common a sight in the north or else to present a background to today's socio-economic problems in that area. The danger, however, has been to assume a uniform pattern of regional development throughout the Highlands during the 18th and 19th centuries. Widespread growth of a population rapidly outnumbering what the soil was calculated to maintain, and poorly managed arable holdings scattered inefficiently in strips intermingled with those of others are often-quoted symptoms of an unchanging system destined to break down as land owners were forced to replace a subsistence way of life with an estate enterprise of a totally different order. Social historians have tended to focus on instances of landlord-tenant conflict, and the resulting 'Highland Clearance' by which many tenant farmers were removed from their

holdings to make way for the sheep have too often been described in emotive detail. (Mackintosh, 1897; Mackenzie, 1883; Prebble, 1963)

But the cultural landscape of the Highlands is just as diverse as the physical landscape which it partly reflects, with patterns of land use and rural settlement that vary from one area to another. Forde (1939) claimed that 'the adaption of human activity to physical conditions can be understood only in terms of social processes as revealed in the organisation and past history of the communities concerned.' If this is so then as Third (1953) suggests 'it is not sufficient to study merely the general operation of regional geographical and historical factors.'

Apart from the immediate physical problems of soil, climate and location with respect to communications and markets there are often features of a purely individualistic nature that stand out as anomalies despite the economic and political trends prevailing throughout the country as a whole or even within a region. Estate structure, availability of capital and the personal decisions of landlord and tenant are amongst the most important factors to be considered as individualistic elements of this kind. In this context the estate unit can provide the most objective information on the progress of improvement and its impact on life and landscape. Only by the study of particular estate records can the historical geographer begin 'to see the land with the eyes of its former inhabitants from the standpoint of their needs and capacities.' (Sauer, 1941) In this way a series of pictures can be reconstructed to demonstrate that there was by no means a uniform system of land use and land management

throughout the Scottish Highlands, nor was it simply a case of development at different rates in different areas.

The objects of this study are to examine the pattern and process of land use and settlement change on the 183,000 acre (74,694 Ha.) Strathspey Estate during the years 1750-1870 in order to determine which elements of today's cultural landscape are derived from this period and to what degree these changes were either 'revolutionary' or 'evolutionary' in nature. Was Strathspey, one of the largest highland estates of its time, 'remodelled' overnight by an inspired or even desperate, financially-pressed land owner or was the process a more gradual one involving subtle changes arising from the individualistic interaction between the nature of the land and those who had control over it. 'Control' is the relevant word here, for, as Zuckerman emphasised in his 1953 report on land use in the Scottish Highlands, 'whatever the economic potential of land in the region, its use will be ultimately determined by the objectives, financial circumstances and rights of those who own or control the land resources.'

Although the improving movement is often seen as a process largely dependent on a 'few men working in an intellectual environment' (Adams, 1971) it is just as important to consider the action and reactions of those who had right of tenure to land of however great or small an extent whether they were motivated towards improvement or not. This study, therefore, looks not only at the planning policies of successive land owners and the way that these policies were implemented but also at the circumstances of a large body of tenant farmers and cottars, the majority of whom were totally dependent on the land for a livelihood. The story may not be as

dramatic as those of 'Highland Clearances' but it is still worth the telling for in Strathspey the balance between population and resources was resolved in a different manner making a story that is none-the-less fascinating for want of 'buildings burned in the thin May sunshine' (Prebble,1963) or tales of possies of men 'ejecting poor Highlanders from the homes of their fathers.' (Scotsman,June 1819)

The study of land use during the 20th century is facilitated by the availability of extensive agricultural census data on a parish basis, Ordinance Survey map cover at a number of scales and a variety of pedological, geological, climatic and land use capability maps produced by government organisations. For Strathspey, first edition O.S. coverage appeared in 1876 and agricultural census data became comprehensive about 35 years later. This work, therefore, predates such source material and is largely dependent on the extensive but often fragmented documentary evidence of manuscripts and plans derived from the estate itself and now held in the Scottish Record Office in Edinburgh.

The sheer volume of the Seafield Estate Papers containing material on Strathspey Estate makes a selective approach essential, given the limitations of time. It has been necessary in such a case first to classify the different types of document to be found and second to assess which of these will yield the most relevant information. The following sources within the Strathspey Estate records have consequently formed the basis of this study:

Estate Plans & sketches

Surveyors reports

Rentals - ordinary, ledger and tenants ledger

Cash Books

Tacks & leases

Ledgers

Factors' Accounts

Letter Books

Petitions

General Correspondence

Beyond the estate papers further data, contemporary accounts and views relative to Strathspey are to be found in sources such as the Teind Court Records, the 10-yearly population census since 1801, Valuation Rolls, New and Old Statistical Accounts, County Agricultural Reports, Parliamentary Papers and the journals of travellers like Thornton (1804), Forsyth (1806) and Somers (1977).

The use of manuscript and literary sources such as these is only one approach to the reconstruction of the cultural landscape. Farmer (1962) has urged that 'the functional relationship between some social phenomena, on the one hand, and land use on the other, in a particular environment, can often only be discovered by the geographer if he goes to the field himself.' Although the writer has immersed himself in the documents of the past he has not neglected to walk the forests, farms and moors of Strathspey where the remains of former floating dams, long-abandoned hill improvements and summer shieling sites are still very much part of the present day landscape.

Chapter 1.

The Making of a Highland Estate.

'Ane Great Hudge Estait'.

On the eastern border of Inverness-shire the rivers that flow down from the great, grey summits of the Monadhliath follow the SW-NE grain of the highland schists before turning north to the sea across the soft deposits of the lowland area that surrounds the Moray Firth. As it develops, the drainage pattern created by the rivers Findhorn, Nairn, Dulnain and Spey breaks up the region, casting natural boundaries between the traditional clan lands of the Frasers, Mackintoshes, Macphersons, Camerons, Macraes and Grants. Behind Aviemore, on the southern edge of the Monadhliath there is a splendid view of mid-Strathspey from atop the rocky, birch-clad Craigellachie, a name also given to another spot almost 30 miles distant where the Fiddich joins the Spey. The two Craigellachies mark the upper and lower extremities of the former territory the Clan Grant whose badge and motto represent the 'cliff of the rocky place'(1) or the 'Rock of alarm'(2), ablaze as a fiery beacon to rally the clan in time of danger.

Originally the name of Grant was associated with lands in Stratherrick lying to the east of Loch Ness and on the other side of the Monadhliath Mountains, but in the early 14th century they gained a foothold in the 3 davoch lands of Dreggie, Glenbeg and Gaich in the Strathspey parish of Inverallan.(3) However, it was not until the mid-15th century that Grants began to accumulate possessions on a large scale, not only in this area but also to the north in the even

more fertile low lying ground of Moray, Nairn and Banff. This they were able to do by benefitting from the favours of both Church and State for whom they could act as a stabilising influence in this remote and almost impenetrable northern region of the Scottish kingdom. Their hold over a vast acreage of land and the men they could muster from it established them in a position of power and strength that gave them an almost unrivalled advantage over other clans in this area.

The first to extend Grant holdings in Strathspey in the 15th century was Sir Duncan Grant, eldest son of John Roy Grant, chief of the clan and, in 1434, Sheriff of Inverness, a position in those lawless days held only by men powerful enough themselves to enforce law and order. From his mother he inherited the half-barony of Freuchie which included the Castletown of Freuchie and the davoch lands of Dalfour, Auchingall, the two Congashes, the two Culfoichs, Auldcharn and Glenlochy, fragments of land which spread from present-day Grantown-on-Spey across the River Spey and up into the hill ground to the south.(4) Thereafter, Freuchie became the principal stronghold of the Grants whose chiefs at that time took the title 'Grant of Freuchie' rather than 'Laird of Grant'. Within a few years Sir Duncan Grant had obtained a lease of the lands of Glencharnie(5), now largely covered by the present parish of Duthil, and before the close of the century Curr, Clury and Tullochgorm had been added to their list of possessions.(6)

During the next 100 years the holdings of the Grants increased as they gained control over church lands in the Barony of Strathspey,(7) the lands of Knockando further down the Spey and

Glenurquhart on the far side of Loch Ness(8) as well as former Comyn territory in Abernethy Parish and the Barony of Cromdale,(9) land that had once belonged to the Earl of Fife. Estates large and small passed through their hands in the building up of what by 1653 was described as 'Ane great hudge estait'(10) and the power of the chief of Clan Grant was fully recognised when Ludovick Grant, 8th Laird of Freuchie, became widely known as the 'Highland King'.(11)

This was a fitting soubriquet, for it was this Ludovick Grant who began to consolidate his fragmented holdings by obtaining from the King in 1694 a Crown Charter erecting his lands into the Regality of Grant.(12) In so doing he dropped the title 'Grant of Freuchie' in favour of 'Grant of Grant', a style by which the leading branch of the Grant family was known until its succession to the Seafield titles in the early 19th century.(13) As the Lord of Regality his influence in that area was extended even further, being almost equal in authority to the Crown in civil and criminal affairs with jurisdiction much wider than that of a baron.(14) Regalities, usually granted by the Scottish Crown to men of considerable influence were eventually abolished in 1747 (15) shortly after the second Jacobite Rising when powerful highland lairds were no longer deemed an asset to national stability.

The good fortune that had carried the Grants from strength to strength until reaching a zenith under the leadership of Ludovick Grant of Grant (1663-1706) was, however, now tempered by one serious problem - that of finance. Ironically, the continued support of Crown and State that had elevated them to such an influential position was

gradually to set them on the road to debt in the years to come. The 'Highland King' had raised a regiment at his own expense at the Glorious Revolution in 1688, 'and was by the Estates of Scotland declared a creditor to the public for the balance due to him of £12,500 Sterling.'(16) In addition it was also estimated that Brigadier-General Alexander Grant of Grant and the first Sir James Grant of Grant had each expended about £2,000 Sterling in support of the Government during the two Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745.(17)

By the time of Sir James Grant of Grant's death in 1747 Strathspey had become established not only as a consolidated estate of some 183,000 acres(74,694Ha.) but also as the home territory of the Clan Grant.(see Fig. 1.1) The estate had been over 200 years in the making and by the 18th century the manpower of the clan was estimated at 850.(18) The ranks of the clan had rapidly increased in a process involving both the natural growth of the Grant family as well as the customary habit of tenants and followers taking on the surname of the chief and identifying themselves with his family. A typical rental of the Grant estate shows that many tenants even as late as the 18th century changed their names to Grant. For example, in a 1759 judicial rental the tenant of Knockankeist in the Davoch of Dellifure in the parish of Cromdale is styled James Grant alias More,(19) but almost ten years later in a rental of 1767-68 he is simply referred to as James Grant.(20) The clan ties still remained even though the system of kinship had been tempered by feudalism in the form of a tenant-landlord relationship that in some ways distanced a chief from his clansmen.

Strathspey Estate
Location & Parishes

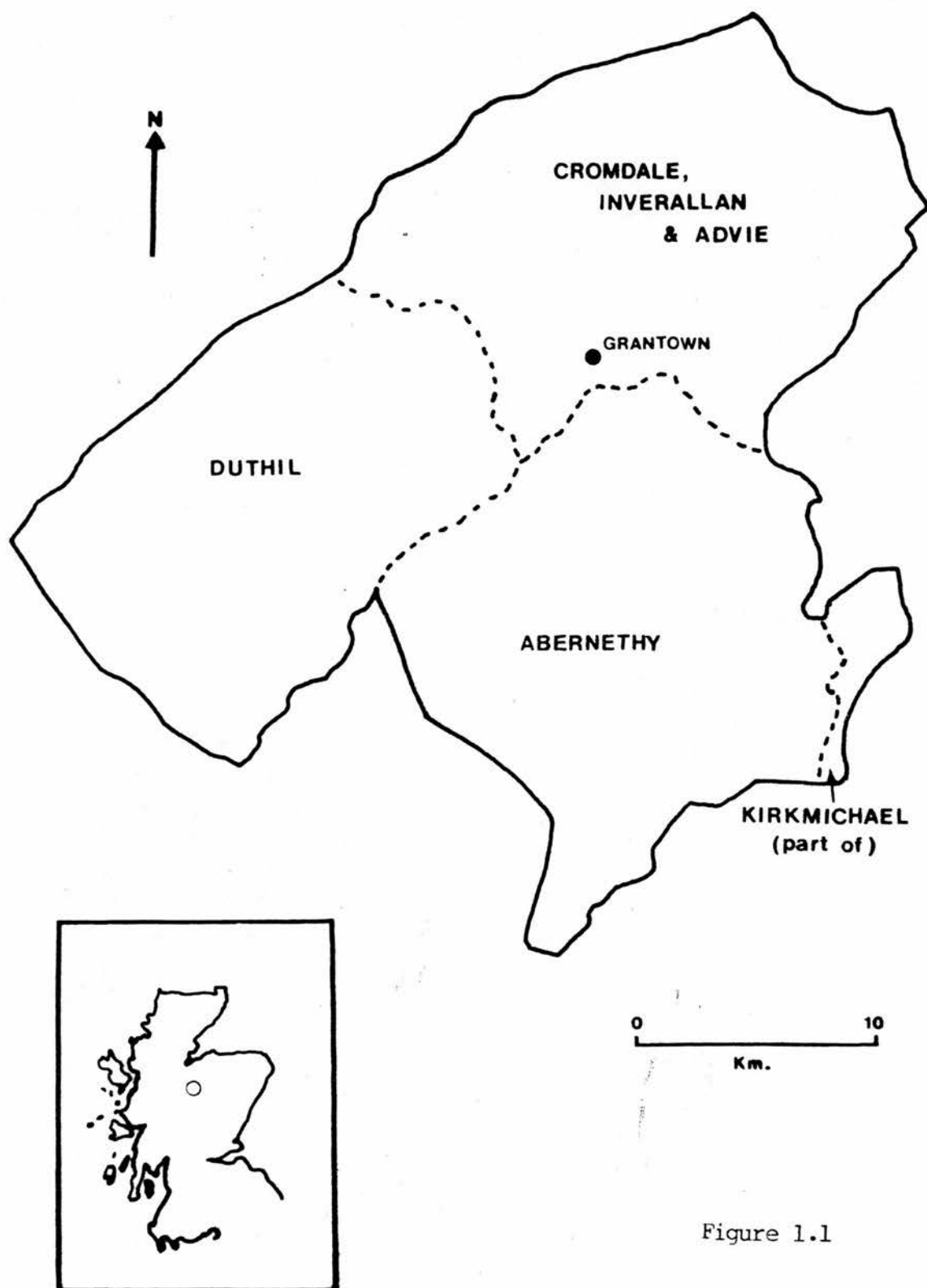


Figure 1.1

Sir Ludovick Grant.

Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant inherited his father's estate on 16th January, 1747, only three days after his 40th birthday. He had trained in the legal profession and being admitted as an advocate in 1728 had followed that career for the short space of 10 years after which he had decided to move north and involve himself both in the running of the family property and in politics. Three years later, in 1741 he was elected as MP for Moray, a seat which he held for 20 years until his retiral due to ill health in 1761.

Considering his expensive life style whilst in the south and his preoccupation with the embellishment of Castle Grant and the surrounding policies when in the north Sir Ludovick on the face of it does not appear to have shown any strong association with his tenants and clansmen in the true spirit of highland kinship. Yet when faced with the financial reality that the income from all of his property could not support him in the style to which he had become accustomed his feeling for chiefship does emerge. Writing to Lachlan Grant, his Edinburgh law agent, in 1758 he offered to give up the notion of buying yet another small estate at Kencorth, and being forced to sell at least some of his possessions he admitted with some apparent self pity that 'the thought of Baron Grant's parting with his estate grieves me to the heart.' His attachment to Strathspey in preference to other properties such as Ballintomb or Allanbuie is evident when he further writes 'I lament the thought of letting anie but a Grant have a footing within the two Craigellachies', concluding that he was 'in great earnest to have this estate preserved in the Clan.' (21)

At the end of the day estates had to be sold by Sir Ludovick whose father had been forced into the same position before him. Pluscarden, Allochie, Allanbuie, Ballintomb and Arndilly were all disposed of for the total sum of £24,000, most of them ending up in the hands of other branches of the Grant family such as Grant of Carron who purchased Allochie from his Kinsman for the sum of £3,000.(22)

The need gradually to dispose of property in this way in order to maintain an income for the Laird of Grant is a reflection of the way in which the role of the chief and indeed highland society had been slowly changing since the mid-17th century. More and more had the highland chief come to depend upon small rents paid by large numbers of tenants whose primary function had been a military rather than an agrarian one. Power and wealth could not previously have been maintained without strong defence. Therefore, it had been important to keep people on the land who could be called to arms and who could supply all the necessities of life either by handing over any surplus from their own holding as rent in kind or by lifting produce from neighbouring lands. Political instability in the Highlands as a result of weak rule by central government had perpetuated this system and had encouraged lairds to spend rather than save, lavishing hospitality at the slightest occasion in what Edward Burt described as 'inelegant and ostentatious plenty.'(23) For many chiefs this manner of living had become a habit not easily changed, despite changing circumstances. Some began to look for alternative power outwith the clan lands and in so doing discovered a new and more elegant style of life in the south. Living in this manner was costly and required

funds in the form of cash rather than kind. On the Grant estates Sir James Grant of Grant had converted most of his custom rents into money rents by the 1730s at a time when he was generally to be found living in London. But in later years, when his son Ludovick returned to live in the north at Castle Grant it was stated that 'he found great inconveniences from this and could not get either mutton or fowls for his table.' Consequently, when renewing some estate leases in the 1750s he reintroduced custom rents to include wedders and hens for family consumption.(24)

It was only when many highland lairds looked to their estates for increased income that the need for change and improvement became apparent. Prior to 1745, however, the process of change had been a slow one in the north where the lack of access to a sizeable external commodity market had limited the possibility of greater productivity and hence the taking in of increased rents from tenants. Since the Union of 1707 the rise in cattle prices had been beneficial to Scotland but only with the coming of peace and stability after the crushing defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden did these benefits truly penetrate the Highlands where they kindled an enthusiasm for improvement.(25)

This is not to say that cattle reiving disappeared over night. Old customs die hard and since beef was now in ever-increasing demand in the south cattle were of even greater value to the Highlander than ever before. In 1755, on the Forfeited Estate of Monaltry in Aberdeenshire it was reported by the factor that:

There has no depredation or theft of cattle lately happened on the estate neither are there any known thieves supposed to haunt in it which indeed cannot be said of the neighbouring Breas namely

Strathavine and Glenlivet in the County of Banmff and Breamar and Corgarph in the county of Aberdeen.(26)

As late as April 1767 cattle were lifted in Strathspey from the small farm of Dalnashalag lying in the remote hill land to the west of Aviemore on the boundary between Badenoch and Strathspey. In a letter to John Grant, the factor, this event was described as 'a very great novelty' considering the former ability of the Grants to defend their territory against any such incursions. Recalling former lawless days the writer of this letter brought to mind the strength of the 'Highland King' as a force to be reckoned with:

In the times preceeding the forty five when theft raged to a most enormous degree and this county was very nearly depopulated by it, nothing consists more with my knowledge than that our neighbours to the west stood in the greatest awe and dread of Sir Ludovick's great violence.(27)

The second Sir Ludovick Grant was not renowned as a man of violence although he still liked to think that he had inherited the title of 'Highland King'. In the south he had developed an expensive taste and when in the north he intended to continue in the same style, chiefly by making Castle Grant a more elegant place in which to live. At great expense he enveloped the original L plan of the old castle by adding an 80 foot frontage with new entrance hall and wide staircase, and a 70 foot wing containing a drawing room and servants quarters, all of which changed the whole building from an old highland stronghold into a typical 'park house' of the 18th century.(28) William Lorimer explained to Sir Ludovick's son, James Grant, in 1762 the changes that had been brought about in the style of 'the gentlemens houses in the Highlands' as a result of more peaceful times. Formerly they had been 'built agreeable to the ancient state

of things in this country where security and protection from a more powerful enemy were the great things wanted.' Now times were different, 'taste and elegance are the effects of peace and of property secured by laws which tho' silent are much more powerful guardians of property than arms attended with the greatest noise.'(29) He omitted to advise the young James Grant that taste and elegance could prove to be expensive, a lesson which the future laird should have learnt from his father.

On top of capital expenditure on Castle and policies Sir Ludovick Grant had to look for additional income to cover family and household provisions, estate management expenses and public burdens such as land tax and ministers' and schoolteachers' salaries. Even with the sale of property resources were still inadequate. Therefore, there was no alternative but to borrow in the short term against the security of the remaining Grant possessions, whilst in the long term look to increasing the estate rental by promoting farm improvements amongst the tenantry. There could be little immediate return from such improvements, and Sir Ludovick was not of an age to begin an enthusiastic programme of change - besides, his major interests were of a political nature.

Unable to invest large sums of money on his estate farms Sir Ludovick nevertheless began to encourage improvement amongst his tenants by granting longer leases and by setting tacks on improveable waste ground. Andrew Wight, after his first visit to Strathspey remarked on the benefits of the long lease:

Sir Ludovick, for an example to others, as well as for his own benefit, is to give reasonable leases upon which his tenants can live comfortably. He lets his best land from 10s. to 12s. per acre, upon a

lease of nineteen years, with the life of the possessor after the nineteen years are run out. This gives Sir Ludovick the command of the best tenants in the country.(30)

Out of 235 leases recorded in the 1759 Strathspey Estate Rental 169 were for a period of 19 years, the remainder being for periods ranging from 4 to 25 years - one exception being a 78 year lease of the farm of Inverlaidnan(31) with the Corn Mill granted in 1712 to Alexander Grant of Delrachny, a principal tacksman and former estate chamberlain in the days of Brigadier Alexander Grant of Grant.(see Table 1.1)

Table 1.1

Length of Lease on Strathspey Estate, 1759.

<u>Parish</u>	<u>years</u>						
	<u>4</u>	<u>9-12</u>	<u>13-15</u>	<u>16-18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>21-25</u>	<u>Life</u>
Duthill	-	2	5	1	14	1	1
Cromdale	-	16	7	9	124	8	-
Abernethy	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>2</u>	-
total	<u>1</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>169</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>

Source: GD 248/248

In a 21-year lease of two-thirds of the two auchtenparts of the lands of Dunan granted to John Lawson and his son in 1759 there was appended a tack to John Lawson, younger, of 'that spote of waist ground in the hill of Cromdale called the Luchar Bain....with power....to labour, improve and inclose the same.' As an incentive to improvement~~ment~~ was to be paid incrementally:

'three pounds Scots money yearly for the first three years, six pounds Scots money for the next following three years, and ten pounds Scots money for said and a sufficient four year old wedder or the conversion thereof optionall to the heretor for the remaining eleven years....with two hens or three shillings Scots as the conversion.(32)

In order to have the freedom to set tacks of hill ground in this way Sir Ludovick had to include in each new lease a clause 'reserving power to the heretor to improve and grant tacks of any part of the commonty thereof wether in hill or strath.'(33) The result was an increase in the number of improvements recorded in the Strathspey Estate Rental from 18 in 1753 (34) to 85, ten years later, in 1763.(35) During that period the income from improvers had increased from £195 2s. Scots to £781 18s. 6d. Scots, the latter figure barely amounting to 3% of the total estate rental. This was hardly an impressive addition to Sir Ludovick's resources, especially if set against annual arrears of rent as in 1759 when £3,387 Scots remained uncollected - over 16% from a total of £20,950 Scots rent due by the tenants of Strathspey.(36)

Although waste ground had been set in tack to improvers by Sir Ludovick Grant it is certain that some such intended improvements remained unenclosed and uncultivated for some time owing to the tenants' inability to begin reclamation despite security of tenure. John Grant in Achnagonalin was one who had a 25-year lease set to him in 1753 of 'such parts of the moors next adjoining to his possession as would admit of being improved', but admitted in a petition about 10 years later that 'he never had it in his power to attempt any improvement till last year.'(37)

This must have been the tale told by many a tenant on countless occasions as the factor attempted to collect the estate rents. Between 1749 and 1760 Sir Ludovick's rent from Strathspey rose only fractionally from £1,473 Sterling to £1,720, suggesting that

improvements in general were in fact minimal during that period. Bad weather in the 1750s had been a handicap, particularly in 1756 when late snow and frosts delayed the sowing of crops in all parts. Further down the Spey on the more fertile Morayshire Estate of Mulben John Grant, the factor, could report that 'we have had a very fine June and Jully in this country and the cropt looks greatly better than cou'd be reasonably expected after such a season.'(38) However, up in Strathspey the weather by marked contrast had continued severe well into May, a foot of snow being recorded on the 8th of the month. The factor described the distressed condition of the tenants:

The most of the county has a good deall of their oats unsown as yet and those in the Brea possessions has sown none at all as yet of their oats, and God knows when, all our cattle is dying without straw.(39)

Begging from door to door was common and hay and straw had to be imported from Forres, Inverness and Elgin. On 10th June James Grant, clerk to Sir Ludovick Grant, was only marginally optimistic:

There was not I believe since the memory of the present age a season that try'd the seed more by severe and intense frosts as well as great storms, (butt thank God) by the appearance now it looks well here and at the Dell yet I am sorry to tell that numbers in the county complain of theirs and some are resowing what they had done before and their calamity is unexpressable for want of bread, their last cropt haveing proved soe deceitfull, and tho yours has not answered well few had soe good, and the neighbouring gentlemen have not yet done with their labouring dung, Gartimore and Bellimore must leave a good deall of their dung or middens ainspread for this year.(40)

That same month, John Grant, tacksman of Bellimore and factor of Strathspey, was desperately trying to collect some rent for Sir Ludovick in order to clear debts owed to a Major Caufield, but could only write to him saying that 'I have none of your rents in my hand, neither is it in my power to get any from your tennants for tho they were headed and hanged its not in their power to make money at

present.'(41) Visiting all four parishes on the estate he was barely able to raise £5 Sterling of rent in arrears between 26th May and 17th June and a further figure of ten shillings during the next 10 days.(42) It could take tenants years to recover from seasons such as this and it is not surprising that improvements came as slowly as the paying of rent. John Grant of Balliemore whose father had been chamberlain of Strathspey from 1710 to 1720 was himself factor during the years 1736-37, 1742 and 1746-58. He did not enjoy wresting rents from tenants in distressed circumstances and after the disastrous season of 1756 which had seen him mobbed and stoned by the women of Craggan he intimated his resignation as factor in order to concentrate on the improvement of his own farm at Balliemore on the south side of the River Spey.(43)

Whilst improvements by principal tenants were under way on larger farms such as Balliemore and Dalvey, at Castle Grant Sir Ludovick had spared no expense in improving the home farm as a model to the rest of the farming community. Andrew Wight noted that there 'the hay-fields and pasture are properly laid down' and 'all the cattle are in good order', suggesting that in his opinion none of the country gentlemen in Strathspey had 'been so successful in their improvements as Sir Ludovick, the proprietor.'(44)

Sir Ludovick here takes the credit for being the 'improver', but it is his son, James Grant of Grant who is best remembered for his enthusiastic approach to the improvement of the Strathspey Estate which he managed from 1762-63, after his father's retiral to Edinburgh, until his own death in 1811.

The 'Good Sir James'.

The young James Grant of Grant was born on 19th May, 1738, in the same year that his father had given up a career in the legal profession to return with his wife to Castle Grant. Bred into the business of landownership, James Grant was educated from the first to be a leader of Highland society. Like the sons of so many Scottish lairds his schooling was in the south as a pupil of Westminster School, well known as a training ground for great politicians - an institution that must have shaped his attitudes, laying the foundation for the future role which he was to take so seriously. From Westminster he went on to Cambridge to further an education which had been marked if not by brilliance by a keenness to explore a wide range of disciplines. Leaving Cambridge in 1758 he finally embarked on the 'Grand Tour' of Europe, the traditional 'polishing off' process that was often responsible for the cultivation of expensive taste and the transplanting of fragments of grandiose classical style into the British landscape.

It was always assumed that James Grant of Grant would follow his father into the political arena. This was a future which he was prepared and willing to accept with responsibility as he demonstrated in a letter to his school friend Thomas Robinson written in July 1766 only a year before Sir Ludovick was to retire. Describing what he thought were the duties of a Member of Parliament he remarked that 'he should be a slave to his country and subject to his King, and friend to all mankind.'⁽⁴⁵⁾ This was to be a philosophy that characterised his own meteoric political career as well as a lifetime of

landownership in the Highlands.

After the Jacobite Rising of 1745 many would-be politicians from north of the border found it difficult, whatever their political hue, to get on with their English counterparts. Finding they could exert little influence in London many resigned themselves to their northern estates where they began to expend a great deal of energy on the management of their property. Talented Scottish aristocrats such as the 5th Duke of Argyll, the 4th Duke of Gordon and the 6th Earl of Findlater all returned to their home counties to become cosmopolitan improvers and men of great influence in the field of economic development and agrarian change. It was not long before James Grant of Grant followed suit, abandoning political life to make tracks for his family estates where he settled with his newly-found wife, Jane Duff, the daughter of William Duff, 1st Earl of Fife, a near neighbour in the north as well as being a keen 'improver'.

The qualities that had led him into the field of politics were to stand him in good stead as manager of his father's property and he was not to regret the move north. Colquhoun Grant, one of the family law agents, was later to confirm the usefulness of his training and the wisdom of his return to Scotland when he remarked that 'attention and just oeconomy are necessary in every man's affairs. These, with your abilitys, may make your family more respectable than the precarious favour of a Minister of State in power or dabbling in cursed Politicks.'(46) Colquhoun Grant could easily justify this statement by reminding James Grant that 'if I am not mistaken your family have lost £100,000 by Government, and politicks since the Union of the two Kingdoms.'(47)

The Circle of Influence.

The transition from politics to estate management was made easier for James Grant of Grant by the helpful advice offered to him by a wide circle of friends, relations and professionals in the field of land management. Of these none was to have a more profound influence than William Lorimer, the young laird's former tutor while at school in London.

Lorimer was born at Dytach near Cullen in 1717, the son of a factor on the Findlater and Seafeld Estates in Banffshire. In 1737, at the age of 20, he completed his formal education at Marischall College, Aberdeen, which he had entered four years earlier as a Crombie bursar. His first appointment on leaving college was to the post of parochial schoolmaster on the Findlater Estate, initially for a short period at Deskford and then at Fordyce. Ten years later he was to find himself a position as tutor to Lord Findlater's grandson, the young James Grant of Grant. Sir Ludovick Grant had not had far to look for a suitably intelligent and knowledgeable tutor to look after the interests of his son whilst in the south.(48)

Lorimer and his pupil were separated during the late 1750s when James Grant of Grant was at Cambridge and then on the 'Grand Tour' and when he himself had travelled still further afield to North America where he found employment in Albany, about 150 miles north of New York on the Hudson River, probably as a secretary to General James Abercromby. While there Lorimer still maintained a keen interest in the future of the young laird of Grant, collecting Observations from a friend in America on woods, notes that he was later to copy down for

the benefit of Strathspey to which he returned in 1760 with an annuity of £100 a year from Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant. In taking up this appointment he had turned down an offer of the post of principal man of business to his former employer, Lord Findlater, preferring to follow through to the end a fulfilling role as adviser to Sir Ludovick's son who, in his eyes, would be responsible for transforming Strathspey into an 'improved' and progressive highland estate.

In order to formulate and effect a policy of modernisation it was necessary to begin by amassing a body of information not only on the condition of Strathspey Estate itself but also on the improvements in all branches of land management that had been carried out elsewhere. Lorimer assiduously set about gathering this information by making contact, either personally or through their agent, with many of Scotland's leading practitioners of improvement. In the late summer of 1762 he toured the Central Highlands and in the following year he made frequent visits to the north-east after which he wrote enthusiastically to James Grant of Grant in London :

In the Low Countries I collected many hints as to characters you are connected with, and several advices as to the management of your estate and woods,- all which I always mark'd down at night, and have them all faithfully registred for your perusal, and I hope Improvement.(49)

From the Earl of Findlater and his son, Lord Deskford, he was able to make copious notes, particularly relating to the most advantageous way of setting leases, and on the subject of forestry he drew on the wide experience of many estate owners, notably the Duke of Atholl, the Earl of Aboyne, Lord Breadalbane, Sir James Farquharson of Invercauld and Lord Kinnoul. From the last of these, Lorimer noted with optimism that:

...he has got from Yorkshire a Scotsman who went from Dupplin 20 years ago and understands farming and the care of woods. It will be of great importance to get some lectures from him on these subjects.(50)

As a result of extensive travel William Lorimer was able to deepen his understanding of forestry and farming and pass on to James Grant of Grant not only volumes of notes but also an enthusiasm for improvement. The task was not so easy on his home ground in Strathspey where tenants proved reticent when approached for information. Writing to his pupil in September 1763 he complained:

I am in the greatest difficulty to get any information from amongst them, for tho' they all as individuals hate, envy and malign one another, yet on all occasions join in a body in opposing what is your interest. Yet in spite of them you shall know more than they are aware of.(51)

His impatience with many tenants and his mistrust of some estate personnel again surfaces when compiling the notes taken after his meeting with Lord Findlater and Lord Deskford:

Be easy of access to every person within your estate - this is the only way of coming at truth - for, there's a universal conspiracy among tenants and servants in order to conceal truth from their masters. Converse with the tenants themselves and not with them thro' the representations of your chamberlain and principal servants.(52)

The scene he viewed in Strathspey had changed little during the 18th century and consequently he had no shortage of ideas for reforming the estate. These he wrote down, often in random fashion as they came to mind, compiling a substantial collection of detailed notes and comments on every conceivable subject from Observations on Tacks or Leases to Liming and Timber to Houses. His extensive Hints about woods, tacks, chamberlains to be lookt into(53) and Things deserving Mr. Grant's attention when he goes to Strathspey(54) were of

immense value to James Grant of Grant as he was about to take over the management of his father's estates. Unfortunately, the role of William Lorimer as guide and mentor was to come to an abrupt end. In 1764 he became seriously ill and in the following year he died at sea on his way south in search of a sunnier climate in which to recover his health. The loss was particularly hard for James Grant who had come to respect and admire his scholarly adviser and former tutor about whom he wrote to his cousin, Arthur Duff, saying 'I never could have done too much for that excellent man to whom I lay under the greatest obligations,'(55)

Although James Grant of Grant was to miss the presence of William Lorimer he was not short of people willing to volunteer advice either of a general philosophical or immediately practical nature. Amongst others these included Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, Henry Home, his uncle Lord Deskford, Lord Kinnoul and James Garden of Troup, all zealous exponents of the art and science of improvement, and all keen to encourage him in his task.(see Adams,1980)

James Grant's distant cousin, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, offered the benefit of his experience on a variety of topics including the use of professional land surveyors and the application of muirburn as a means of pasture control.(56) He wrote at length on many occasions and his letters were full of optimism about Strathspey and its future laird on which he commented:

I shall only at present hint in my own justification, that in respect to your future, I was not romantick in my assertions for its very large improvement. If done by prudent degrees, and leading not driving your people to it - you have all needfull materials upon your estate and extent of land, with many people of some substance.(57)

Monymusk's catalogue of Friendly Hints and Suggestions(58) shows the enthusiasm with which he was prepared to help enlighten a fellow improver although there was some element of self-congratulation at his own attempts at improvement. Nevertheless, his main aim was to encourage a fellow landowner to stimulate amongst his tenants a spirit of 'industry and adventure'.

A similar interest was taken in James Grant of Grant by Henry Home, Lord Kames, whose prestigious and influential treatise The Gentleman Farmer was soon to be found on the bookshelf of all those professing to be 'improvers' of landed property. His letter to the young laird in March 1763 opens with a eulogy that almost amounts to the welcome made by the august leader of a noble cause to an acolyte:

I do say to you Sir from principle and from experience, that you have chosen the noblest plan for the conduct of life, which is the improvement of the country and happiness of the people whom providence hath put under your care. Trust me my good friend, what you will find upon tryal, that by this plan you have provided better for your own private happiness than by surrendering yourself like the bulk of mankind to narrow and interested views, which like an ignis fatuus allure shallow mortals from their true happiness to what is no more but a delusion.(59)

Ever keen to impress on James Grant the great responsibility and the duties inherent in land ownership Henry Home was to express his thoughts in writing once again 4 years later in 1767:

Upon my succeeding to a pretty opulent fortune well stocked with people, some sentiments began to display themselves which had formerly lain in obscurity. I clearly discovered the true meaning of the term proprietor or landholder, not a man to whose arbitrary will so much land, so many fir trees, and such a number of people are subjected, but a man to whose management these particulars are entrusted by providence, and who is bound to answer for his trust. It is his duty especially to study the good of his people and to do all in his power to make them industrious, consequently virtuous, and consequently happy.(60)

In both of these letters Lord Kames had encouraged James Grant of Grant to promote some form of industry in Strathspey, especially the manufacture of textiles. Like Monymusk, he was to advise him to 'push on industry slowly rather than rapidly: the success is more certain and the expense much less', a recommendation that was passed to James Grant by Peter May the land surveyor who had dined with Lord Kames at Aberdeen in May 1768 and had noted that he was 'very anxious about Strathspey. We had a long conversation about it and he has suggested useful things.'(61)

The concern of Lord Kames was shared by James Grant of Grant's uncle Lord Deskford, a man who had gained considerable prestige in the north east for the modernisation of his his estate. In later years he was credited with 'the exclusive merit of introducing into the north of Scotland those improvements in agriculture and manufactures and all kinds of useful industry, which in the space of a few years raised his country from a state of semi-barbarism to a degree of civilization equal to that of the most improved districts of the south.'(62)

Lord Deskford's committment to Strathspey was perhaps greater than that of Lord Kames in so far as the Grant family were destined to inherit the Seafield title and property as a result of Sir Ludovick Grant's marriage to Lady Margaret Ogilvie of Findlater. As Lord Findlater he was to pass on his filial sentiment by remarking to Grant of Grant that 'there is nothing interests me more than the prosperity of your family towards which I shall always endeavour to contribute.'(63) This he was to do time and time again from the first knowledge of his nephew's intention to take over the management of the Strathspey Estate. Looking to the future in a letter written from

Banff as early as 1761 he too recommended the promotion of industry as one of a number of schemes that should be pursued in Strathspey, suggesting that 'money laid out by a gentleman to promote industry upon his estate as being really laid out at more than common interest.'(64)

From many quarters there were recommendations to encourage not only the reform of agricultural husbandry but also the generation of non-agricultural employment. Patrick Grant, son of Alexander Grant in Kylintra, wrote to James Grant of Grant in December 1764 noting that 'tradesmen of every kind are scarce in the country of Strathspey and those that reside there are very ignorant', going on to suggest the manufacture of linen and stockings with the settlement of 'merchants of credit and character' who were 'much wanted for promoting the interest of the inhabitants.'(65)

James Grant of Grant could not have agreed more since he was desperate to see his rents promptly and regularly paid each year. The total rent in arrears in 1764 had reached a staggering £7,262 Scots, well over double that of the previous year and a sure warning that he must act quickly to stabilise the economy of his estate. Eventually, he was to express to John Grant of Tullochgriban, the Strathspey Estate factor, the perhaps naive hope that 'would they but give proper attention to having their wives, children and servants taught to employ their leisure hours in spinning, knitting of stockings etc. the payment of their rent would seldom depend upon their farms.'(66)

But the highlander had a reputation for being 'generally lazy, ignorant and addicted to drink', (67) a largely unfair accusation

against a people unaccustomed to working in manufacturing industry but used to the soil and rearing cattle in order to pay cash rents. Could the tenants be encouraged to take up industry if men already skilled in manufacturing were introduced amongst them? This was the suggestion made by Alexander Shaw to James Grant of Grant in his advisory letter on the setting up of industrial villages:

In my humble opinion it is the interest of every Gentleman, possess'd of an estate in the Highlands, to collect a number of mechanicks, and other industrious people, into some central spot. For.- over all that country there is double the number of people necessary to cultivate the ground, so that its impossible for them to live, and pay an adequate rent to their master, and they are so strongly attach'd to the place of their nativity that they rather starve than remove from it. This and the despicable opinion they entertain of all mechanicks contributes to their poverty; and from their mean, scanty subsistence, proceeds sloth and idleness...(68)

After meeting with Lord Findlater and Lord Deskford, William Lorimer had similarly impressed on James Grant the value of inviting skilled and hard working men to settle on his estate, suggesting that he 'endeavour to get amongst the old tenants one or two industrious strangers, who will teach your idle people industry and a proper way of farming, and those at the same time will so derange and discontent the old tenants, that they'll give you what you want.'(69) At the same time he was able to show how dramatically the rent had increased on Atholl Estate where some tenants were able to sell £25 worth of linen in a year and where one market handled £4,000 worth of yarn sold to manufacturers in Glasgow and Paisley. 'What a noble argument this is,' he claimed, 'for hastening this manufacture into Strathspey.'

James Grant of Grant readily concurred with this method of promoting industry as he made clear in a communication with Patrick Duff early in 1765 when he stated:

It will give me the utmost satisfaction to cooperate with gentlemen, and as far as possible assist in carrying on any schemes that may occur for the public benefit - if we do not take this seriously into consideration I am much afraid our folly will immerse us in all the luxury and venality of England, without the funds to support them.(70)

As far as James Grant was concerned the advice he had been given had led him to the conclusion that the greatest asset he had on his property was the population living there, for without people there was no means of increasing productivity in farming, forestry or manufacturing, and hence no means of generating wealth and prosperity. In this he was supported by the principal tenants of Strathspey who resolved in writing in 1769 to give all the encouragement and assistance that was possible to those wishing to settle on the estate.(Appendix I)

On some highland estates the displacement of a growing body of tenants with their outmoded agricultural methods was seen as a prerequisite to the rationalisation of farm units and their subsequent improvement. In many a highland glen the arable land of joint-farming townships was eventually to be taken over almost completely by the grazier with his sheep as in Glen Roy where Somers (1848) noted that two sheep walks had swallowed up the ground formerly possessed by 9 townships.(71) The growing tide of emigration in the late 1760s was therefore a blessing to many landlords in search of an alternative estate economy on which to depend.

As for sheep, William Lorimer had noted that there were 'great quantities and flocks of sheep in Strathdon in Aberdeenshire which is as cold as Strathspey - why not introduce them into the latter?'(72) But James Grant of Grant was not over enthusiastic about turning his

estate into a great sheep range even though he carried a stock of sheep at Castle Grant which in 1765 amounted to a modest 120 in number.(73) Delnabo, a hill farm beyond the Braes of Abernethy was reckoned to be a fine sheep pasture by Adam Hunter, a Tweeddale grazier who often brought sheep from the borders to sell in the Highlands (74) and George Brown, the land surveyor, was later to recommend the economics of sheep farming when he suggested to the estate factor that

...the sheep farmers have much the advantage of us in the Low country - they have no expence, but the shepherd and his dogg and a wedder does more than by them a boll of meal.(75)

James Grant was not even convinced when Sir John Sinclair, the great improver of Caithness, sent him, in 1791, one tup and two ewes of the Cheviot breed which he considered 'to be the greatest treasure ever sent to the Highlands.'(76)

His reservations were perhaps confirmed when his kinsman, James Grant of Corrimony, incurred heavy losses as a result of sheep farming in Glenurquhart and he remained in the belief that to foster sheep rearing on a grand scale would not be for the benefit either of himself or his tenants.(77)

James Grant of Grant did all in his power not only to attract people ~~onto~~ Strathspey Estate but also to persuade them to remain there. In the spring of 1763 an advertisement appeared in the Aberdeen Journal inviting 'the reduced private soldiers, who have so bravely distinguished themselves during the late War' to settle on 'any Part of the new Grounds belonging to them (Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, baronet, and Mr. Grant of Grant) in the counties of Inverness, Murray or Banff', offering them holdings of 5 to 15 acres in

size.(AppendixII) At the same time he was violently opposed to emigration which he thought of as an unnecessary loss to the movement for socio-economic reform in the Highlands. On this he was quite adamant writing:

Now, I consider it bad policy, to part with people and therefore would use every means to make them industrious and continue on the estate, for we cannot overstock in such.(78)

When tenants emigrated from his estate in Glenurquhart in the early 1770s he became alarmed, and when it was rumoured that someone was trying to persuade people in Strathspey to leave for North America he was moved to instruct his clerk, James Grant, to have the estate factor make immediate enquiries as secretly as possible:

Sir James desired me this day to write to you to beg you would be so good as make strict and particular Enquiry as to McPherson in Drummullie in such manner as the same as follows may be authenticated as fast to Sir James, viz. Macpherson's name, birth and occupation, from what part of America he came last, how long he has been in the country, what people he has persuaded to leave their native country - the copy of the terms of indenture - when they take shipping - at what port and for what port in America? All the above he hopes you will get an exact account of without loss of time and that you will go about it as secret as possible and let no one know you have any particular reason for so doing or that Sir James wants an account.(79)

So incensed was James Grant of Grant at the loss incurred to the Highlands by emigration that he wrote, in April 1775, to the Lord Advocate requesting prompt legislation 'for the preservation of His Majesty's subjects, and more immediately of those poor deluded people, who in great numbers I am informed, propose sailing with their wives and families this spring without knowing to what hardships they may be exposed.' (Appendix III)

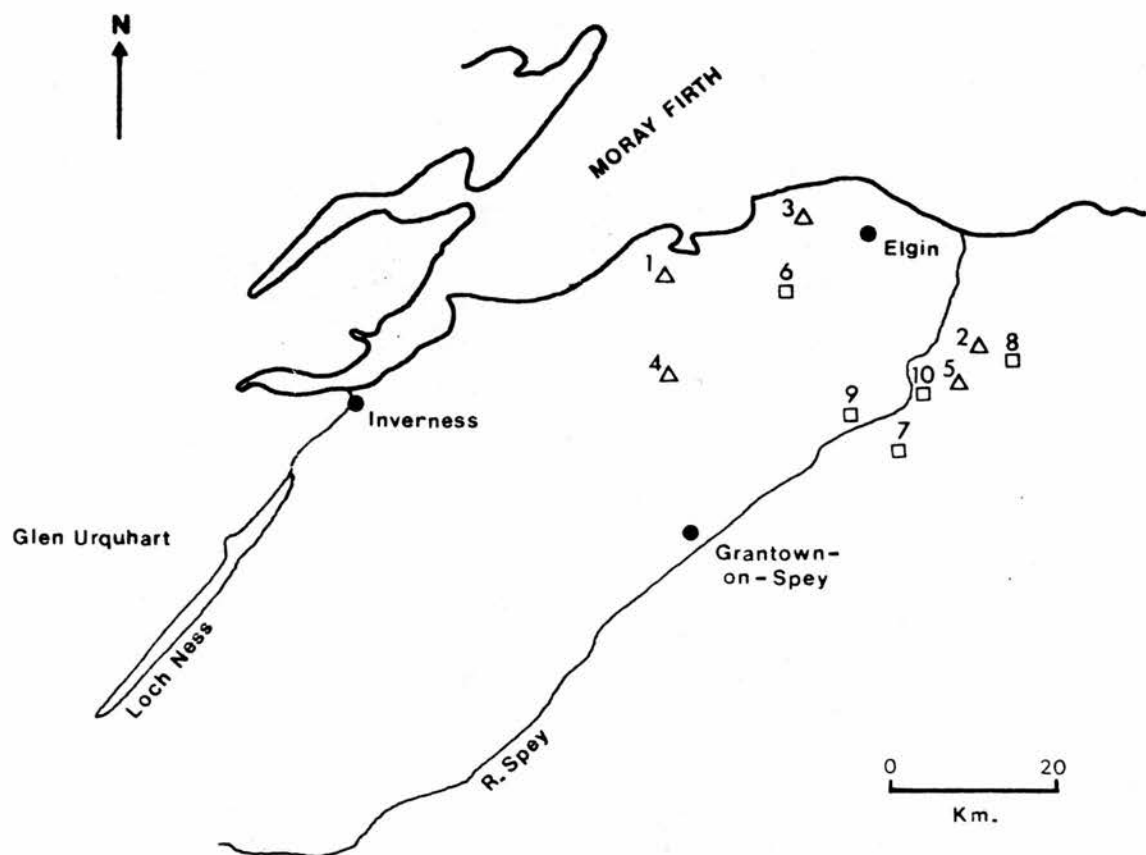
In the overpopulated Glenurquhart the pressure on the land was great and it was not surprising to find the factor reporting in 1784,

after a succession of poor harvests, that 'about 40 young lads have engaged to go in the summer to America and signed an agreement with a Mr. Donald of Lundy for their passage.'(80) In Strathspey where there was not yet the same pressure on land resources there was to be no mass exodus of this kind during the late 18th century despite the fact that rents were raised more rapidly by the landowner and great hardships were to be faced in years of dearth.

Financial Pressures.

The view of the future held by James Grant of Grant was certainly an optimistic view, one that was the basis of his policy of improvement even at a time when his family were hard pressed financially. Sir Ludovick had already sold property and on his death in 1773 Sir James Grant, as he then became, inherited not only the remaining Grant possessions but also a massive debt approaching £130,000. This was in no way helped by the fact that in 1785 it was estimated that £71,800 was owed to his family by the Government for services in the past. Ten years later he was to be partially recompensed on being appointed to the salaried post of General Cashier of the Excise of Scotland, but despite repeated requests this was no solution to the problems that he faced in the 1770s. There was no alternative but to proceed with the further sale of property. But the question now was - which possessions should go? Between 1774 and 1795 the estates of Moy, Mulben, Westfield, Dunphail and Achmades were sold, bringing in a total of £52,000, a figure that was raised by £20,000 with the sale of Lady Grant's inherited property.(Appendix IV & Fig. 1.2)

Figure 1.2 Estates in the Counties of Moray and Banff Sold by Sir Ludovick Grant and Sir James Grant.



Sold by Sir James Grant

1. Moy
2. Mulben
3. Westfield
4. Dunphail
5. Auchmadies

Sold by Sir Ludovick Grant

6. Pluscarden
7. Allachie
8. Allanbuie
9. Ballintomb
10. Arndilly

Source: GD 248/698/5

It might appear strange that he should have parted with lowland estates such as Moy with its productive arable land in favour of keeping the bleak upland properties of Strathspey and Glenurquhart, but for Sir James there were good reasons - reasons that reflect the character of the man as a financially pressed landowner, optimistic improver and clan chief. Like his father before him the ties of kinship made him loathe to part with the territory that had long been associated with the name of Grant. Many of the lowland possessions in Moray and Banff on the other hand were relatively recent purchases with which there was little personal attachment. At the same time, in terms of acreage, both Strathspey and Glenurquhart were extensive territories that still represented to him, as they had his predecessors, a certain prestigious value that he wished to preserve.

On economic grounds the lowland estates, though smaller in size, showed an apparent greater sale value per acre, an important factor in the immediate reduction of his debts. But an equally important factor, looking to the future, was the limited possibility for increasing their value by introducing improvements. From Castle Grant Sir James viewed the great expanse of open moorland and forest stretching in all directions up into the surrounding mountains in the firm belief that this was land that could be settled and reclaimed on a vast scale. The potential for improvement and hence for an increase in value per acre seemed to him to be far greater on his upland rather than his lowland estates. A greater income from farm rentals and productive forest would not only solve his financial problems but ensure the security of his family for years to come. If all of this could be achieved then his reputation as an improving landowner would

be second to none. It is almost possible to imagine the words of William Lorimer going through his mind nearly 10 years after his death as he pondered on this problem:

Now if Sir Ludovick Grant has within those 7 or 8 years settled 200 tenants on new grounds, those in the space of 20 years will in all probability have produced to him not under 1,000 people, who will cultivate more land, and enable him to spare in case of great necessity a hundred men or two for the Army and Navy, besides increasing his Rent Roll by 2 or 300 £ a year. So that an Improver of new grounds in this way is one of the greatest patriots of the Kingdom. He acts quite contrary to the plan of those who Inclose large farms, and turn out cottagers.(81)

It was perhaps the luckless James Grant of Corrimony who finally convinced Sir James Grant of the wisdom of keeping hold of his upland properties. Writing to him in April 1776 on the subject of valuation and leases in Glenurquhart he pointed out that the estate was grossly undervalued, some tenants paying less than one third or even a quarter of the realistic rent for their land. Considering the quantity of improveable ground and potentially productive forest the estate would have been 'an easy purchase' at £50,000 with an annual income at that time of £1,200. In his opinion the value of Strathspey was even more underrated, and not wishing to see either Strathspey or Urquhart in the hands of anyone else but a Grant he argued strongly that they be retained by Sir James Grant:

Your low country estates are nearer their value than your Highland estates. I should therefore think it more for the interest of your family to part with your low country estates than with your Highland estates. If you can preserve Strathspey and Urquhart, you preserve a very large territory, which in all probability will secure to your family a larger income than all your estates at present afford. Besides that, by parting with your Highland property, the weight and influence of your family is lessened, in the view of internal strength and resources in time of danger.(82)

With the collapse of the Ayr Bank in 1772 the 1770s were a bad time for Sir James Grant to place property on the market.

Nevertheless, he was eventually able to dispose of his lowland possessions to near neighbours such as Col. Grant of Arndilly, Cumming of Altyre and Lord Findlater, the last of whom purchased the Estate of Mulben for £15,000. Lord Kinnoull was gratified that Sir James had been able to sell to his advantage but was not so sure that his uncle, Lord Findlater, should have stretched himself considering the current economic climate. The need to consolidate by spending wisely on improvement was more important than the accumulation of properties. In a letter from Dupplin in July 1778 Kinnoull urged Sir James to be cautious in this respect:

I am glad that Lord Findlater has purchased your estate since the sale is so necessary to you for it would have been difficult at this time to find a purchaser, and more so to get the money. The present state of money and the quantity of land at market render the sale of estates disadvantageous. Yet I am fully convinced that nothing can give you effectual relief, but a very large sale.

As to Lord Findlater himself, I do not wish him to buy land. He would lay out this money to more advantage by improving the land he has. It is a mistaken notion to borrow money to buy land. I advised him to clear his debt. The desire of extending landed property, is a misfortune his father suffered by it.(83)

The problem of debt was one from which Sir James Grant was never to escape even though the income from his estate was to rise steadily. A schedule of income drawn up by his Edinburgh law agent in August 1799 reveals the extent of his borrowings which by then amounted to £80,000. Set against a gross income of £9,344 the annual payment of £4,000 in interest on these loans was to leave him very little free cash to spend on the improvement of his estates. In that year the sum laid out on improvements and management only came to £757 of which £260 was spent on repairs to buildings and £200 on the embankment of the River Spey. (Appendix V)

Most of the money borrowed by Sir James was in the form of relatively small loans lent by a wide circle of friends, relatives and even estate employees. A list of bonds totalling £13,215 as early as 1767 shows the nature of his debts to 17 creditors amongst whom were Col. Francis Grant, his uncle, Walter Morrison, minister of Deskford and John Grant, chamberlain of Mulben.(Appendix VI) At Sir James Grant's death in 1811 at least one quarter of his debts were to members of the Clan, much of the remainder being probably originally loaned to him by clansmen but subsequently passed on by inheritance through daughters or by assignation to others.(84)

Estate Personnel.

Sir James Grant of Grant received helpful advice from many quarters but to manage Strathspey effectively he constantly required detailed information on the estate itself. Initially, William Lorimer had begun this task but had noted the lack of cooperation given to him in this. The young James Grant, in taking over the management of his father's estate, was not to be put off. One of his first instructions as new estate manager was to write to John Grant of Tullochgriban, the Strathspey factor, 'requesting information as to the lands'.(AppendixVII) In this lengthy set of instructions he detailed all that he wished to know and made it clear that he was to expect from his factor 'a punctual correspondence with you, and regular answers to all my letters.' Similarly, he was to write to James Grant, the clerk, and James Grant of Inveroury, overseer of woods, requesting that they set about the appraisal of all buildings in Strathspey with the aid of birleymen, telling them to be 'very

attentive to see they do not slur over their work but be most minute in every circumstance as the interest of tenants and master are concerned in it.'(85) It was important to him that he should have the confidence of his estate personnel whilst at the same time show that he had a firm control over all that was going on. He had perhaps a lingering mistrust from the start of estate factors, a legacy handed to him by William Lorimer who had warned him to 'believe chamberlains as little as any person whatever - by falsehoods two-thirds of the chamberlains of Strathspey and Urquhart have ruined the Laird of Grant and made Lairds of themselves.'(86) Lorimer, in his notes to James Grant of Grant had also described the function of various estate employees such as ground officer, birleyman, forester, and farm grieve, all of whom had become part of a growing team of professional men that also included land surveyors, law agents and architects, necessary for the efficient running of a large estate.(Appendix VIII)

Prior to the Heritable Jurisdiction Act of 1747 the office of chamberlain or factor was only exceeded by that of the Baron Baillie who exercised the jurisdiction of the laird in the Baron Court. It was usual for these senior positions to be filled by principal tenants who were closely related to the chief of the clan, a habit that did not die out until the early years of the 19th century. John Grant of Balliemore was succeeded as factor in 1759 by John Grant of Tullochgriban, a great-grandson of Sir John Grant of Freuchie who died in 1637. At a salary of £25 Tullochgriban remained in office until 1774, the year after Sir Ludovick Grant's death, and in the following year the rent was collected by Patrick Thomson who declined the permanent post of factor in favour of James Macgregor.

James Macgregor, known as James Willox until the repeal of the act proscribing the name Macgregor, was married to a daughter of George Grant of Tullochgorm, one-time factor of part of Strathspey. He was an accomplished man and a valuable asset to Sir James Grant as well as being a great improver on his own his own farm at Balliemore. Andrew Wight had been impressed with his husbandry on visiting Strathspey and promised to send him 'a good ploughman, not only to have his land well ploughed, but to teach others.'(87) Before his move to Strathspey Macgregor had been appointed chamberlain of Urquhart in 1765. There he had also impressed James Grant of Corriemoney who reported to Sir James Grant that 'there is nobody better acquainted with the quality of its soil, its grazings and its advantages in general.'(88) Sir James could not have ignored the benefits of transferring Macgregor to the factory of Strathspey, even if James Grant, the clerk, had not written of him in the following way:

Mr. McGregor knows the ability of each, and according to his ability and industry he is served. I advise the honesty and fidelity, with which Mr. McGregor conducts himself in the management of your affairs. He has succeeded so well in the farms which he has laboured, that the people confide much in his skill and ability as a farmer, and are many of them much inclined to follow his advice.(89)

Clearly this was the kind of man Sir James Grant sorely needed amidst the tenantry of Strathspey.

In the ranks beneath the factor and the clerk the number of estate employees was to increase gradually. Under Sir Ludovick Grant in 1759 the number of salaried personnel had, apart from the factor, included a ground officer, three foresters, a gardener and a musician.(Appendix IX) By 1777 the factory accounts show payments to 2 ground officers as well as to a 'forrester of the deer and roe' in

Duthil Parish, while the household accounts in 1774 show a long list of employees at Castle Grant that includes house and farm servants, a grieve, postillions, ploughmen, horse drivers, gardeners, wrights, park keepers and sundry part-time masons, dykers, cashcromers and limers.(90)

The rent collected by the factor was rarely sent directly to Sir James Grant but normally passed on to his 'doer' or law agent who usually lived outwith the estate. Even so, many of these men were in fact kinsmen with the name Grant. Lachlan Grant of Gartinbeg, Ludovick Grant, Colquhoun Grant, Issac Grant and Alexander Grant all acted for Sir Ludovick Grant and his son, Sir James, providing a rich source of correspondence that illuminates the growing complexities of estate and family affairs.(91)

A Policy of Optimism.

Amongst the leaders of Highland Society during the second half of the 18th century there was a mood of optimism based on an expectation that their efforts would bring about great changes beneficial to all. If optimism was the keynote to the estate management policies of the time then Sir James Grant could be reckoned as one of the most optimistic of them all, believing that he could not only transform the agricultural landscape but also reform the people of Strathspey. The ordinary folk of the Highlands have often been maligned for their idleness but George Dempster, MP, of Dunnichen, was prepared to take their side in so far as he had reservations as to the merit of isolated improvements and the willingness of some proprietors to progress beyond the bounds of the old order. Writing to Sir James

Grant in the 1780s he warned:

But much depends on the proprietors co-operating in their endeavours to effect these reforms. I am in some doubts if that will generally be the case, and whether the proprietors are not better placed with the influence they derive from preferring the feudal system entire than from the people being placed in situations more favourable for industry of every kind than they now are.(92)

As far as Sir James Grant is concerned there is no doubt as to the cooperation he received from other proprietors particularly throughout the north-east. Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk had observed that 'you have all needfull materials upon your estate'.(93) He may well have been right, but the formulation of Sir James Grant of Grant's estate policy was largely based on the communications he had had with men of ideas like William Lorimer, Lord Kames and the Earl of Findlater.

The policy that emerged was one opposed to emigration in the expectation that human resources would enhance the value of natural resources to the benefit of all. For his efforts as an 'improver' he was to earn the title 'the Good Sir James', both qualifications that largely rested on the promotion of new agricultural husbandry, the reclamation of waste ground, the beginnings of organised forest management, the development of a model farm, the laying down of manufacturing villages and the employment of professional men to administer his estate more effectively.

Andrew Wight was to say of Sir James that 'this gentleman fails in no particular concerning his own or the public interest,'(94) and his old school friend Thomas Robinson, writing from London, delighted in telling him that 'whenever I am asked after you, I always report you as doing good, and I told Mrs. Mylton whom I dined with when in

town, that you was peopling and planting Scotland.'(95) A noble cause, but not one that he could possibly undertake on his own.

Chapter 2.

'A Judicious Survey'

The Land Surveyor.

When the young James Grant of Grant abandoned the London political scene to return home to take over the management of his father's estates he was full of ideas on agrarian reform. He was to devote nearly all his attention to Strathspey where he began enthusiastically to promote estate policies synthesised from the advice of men such as Lord Kames who had exhorted him 'to bring that country by degrees into a flourishing state.'⁽¹⁾ The formulation and implementation of these policies, however, required a fundamental and objective approach to land use that could only be achieved by employing men of skill. Of these the land surveyor was undoubtedly the most important as a primary aid in the process of estate planning and in the development of new management techniques.

The significance of the 18th century land surveyor to geographic study was first demonstrated by McArthur(1936) in an evolutionary land use study of the Earl of Breadalbane's Loch Tayside estate in Perthshire, and later by Adam(1960) editing John Home's survey of the north-west Highland estate of Assynt. Scottish estate plans and related documents largely held in the National Library and the Scottish Record Office were seen by Third(1957) as a useful source on agrarian change, and more recently Adams(1968) has examined the land surveying profession in Scotland using similar material. Apart from studying the work of individual surveyors such as Peter May and George Taylor, Adams has been able to demonstrate the geographical changes reflected by the mapping of a specific Scottish Estate, to describe

the birth and death of the land surveying profession between the years 1720 and 1840, and to assess the nature of the interrelationship between surveying and the level of economic opportunity.(2) For the north-east Grant(1978) has shown the extent to which landowners provided patronage to individual surveyors in addition to establishing the links between surveyors in the regional development of the professional 'school'.

By analysing the nature and development of land surveying in Strathspey at a time of intense improving activity it is possible to illustrate the 18th century approach to resource re-evaluation and to demonstrate the important role of the land surveyor as an agent of social, economic and geographic change. For during this period the professional land surveyor was to secure an increasing number of contracts and assume a greater degree of importance on the estate, especially in the spheres of policy landscaping, boundary disputes, land use appraisal, settlement lay-out and road construction.

Such work involved the execution of a competent survey, requiring skill not only in the measurement of land and the drawing of maps but also in the ability to classify the inherent properties of the land and to make value judgements as to its quality.

The nature and development of land surveying in Strathspey.

On 5th May 1763 Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk wrote to James Grant of Grant to impress on him the necessity of a survey as the first step towards the improvement of his estates, writing with some conviction:

Surveys, as I have often mentioned, for which was it mine I would Employ a Doz. at once, to prevent loss of time, and in Consequence Great loss of Benefit for your Self and Country and your own People - will enable you to do justice to the People and your self: and a few General propositions, with a few obvious Easy Rules for Conduct might convince your people of the Expediency, Pleasure and Profit of the measure, and stimulate them to Industry and Adventure...(3)

A year later he was to restate his advice, claiming that 'a judicious survey of your Estate is the most Essential.' However. this proved to be an unnecessary reminder to the young laird who had already come to appreciate the value of a survey 'In Pollicy and everything Else.'(4) His father, Sir Ludovick Grant, had previously employed the services of the nurseryman-come-surveyor Thomas Winter for the purposes of planning a garden and of planting shelterbelts around the parks at Castle Grant. Winter, who had been brought from the south to Monymusk by Sir Archibald Grant in the 1740s, was soon to be found throughout the north-east giving advice to land owners on the design and lay-out of gardens and policies.(5) In 1748 he drew up a plan for 'a new little Garden, Terrass Walks, and Banks' at Castle Grant, detailing a kitchen garden to be enclosed with espalier hedges and a ten or twelve foot broad border for wall trees and early produce.(6) In selecting a location for the garden he was to demonstrate his ability to assess site quality:

The Gardners in winter time had solde and cutt down all the old plains and trenched a good deal of the worst of the Ground, which was very bad to do, by reason itt is incomparably stonie, and I believe will double the charge of making the garden as if itt were free of these stones. But att the same time it is absolutely the best spot about all Castle Grant for a garden that I can see, it lying warm, well exposed to the sun, and in the freest air.(7)

At the same time he supervised the design and planting of mixed coniferous-hardwood plantations and shelterbelts in the policies of Castle Grant, reporting that on his arrival on 1st April he had

already 'found a good part of Jackson's park planted.' Carefully matching tree species to ground conditions he continued to plant the park 'mostly with Firrs and Beeches', except for 'some very boggie places that I think fitt for nothing except allers or poplar, and we had few or none.'(8) In this way he enhanced the immediate vicinity of Castle Grant, reshaping and extending the existing planned policies that had been created at least as far back as the year 1661, when heretors of £1,000 or more yearly valued rent had been obliged by Act of Parliament to enclose four acres of land annually, 'and plant the same about with trees of oak, elme, ash, plain, sauch, or other timber.'(9)

To James Grant of Grant the end result of Thomas Winter's early landscaping at Castle Grant must have served as a first hand example of the land surveyor's work. In 1761, when he eventually came to consider the future management of Strathspey, his initial ideas centred on continuing his father's expensive style of policy improvement, at that stage recognising the land surveyor solely in the limited role of an amenity landscape designer. Ever ready to offer advice, his uncle, Lord Deskford, wrote to him from the Castle of Banff suggesting, amongst other things, that whilst he was still in London 'it would be right likewise for you to make acquaintance with Miller at the Physick Garden at Chelsea, and you should see Mr. Gray's Nursery at Mile-end. And if you have not done it already it would be right before you come down to make a tour for two or three days through some of the best dispos'd gardens in the neighbourhood.'(10)

James Grant's intentions were made clear when two months later,



on 12th April, 1761, Lord Deskford wrote once again to propose a meeting on site with a surveyor in attendance stating:

I intend to be at Castle Grant this year when you form your plan for laying out your ground within sight of the house. If you fix upon your time for that purpose, it would be right to have a surveyor there, to put what you Resolve upon a paper, and if I know the time soon I can appoint Peter May the best surveyor in Scotland to be there...(11)

Although Peter May was unable to carry out a survey in Strathspey on this occasion the young James Grant was made aware of his work and certainly must have gained a wider appreciation as to the value of the surveyor in the detailed planning of estate improvements. However, for the purpose of surveying the policies, Sir Archibald Grant was quick to recommend the services of Robert Robinson, a surveyor who described himself as an 'Architect and layer out of Pleasure Grounds.' The terms of his employment were loosely defined:

As 'to his payment'; that Depends intirely upon the time he consumes, and the nature of the work he is employed in, Whether Surveying, Planning, or Overseeing; tho in some instances he has given an account (as in Achorny's case, where he got twenty guinies) in general he has taken what was offered him. Sir Alexr. Ramsay gave him twenty guinies; we the same; Capefield 12 guinies; Pittencrief ten; This is in proportion to the nature and extent of the plan; and, no doubt, the circumstances of his employer. You can ask a charge, if you judge proper; and Act as you find it necessary; or you think he merits.(12)

The outcome of Robert Robinson's employment proved to be an expensive disaster for James Grant of Grant, despite the fact that Monymusk had praised him as being 'well accomplished and well bred.'(13) and Lord Deskford had 'formed a good enough opinion of his taste.'(14) Robinson got off to a bad start by turning up in May 1764, six months late, and by carrying on the survey longer than intended at a cost which James Grant was not keen to pay.(15) It would be fair to say that part of the blame lay with James Grant of

Grant whose absence and lack of instructions left Robinson completely in the dark.(16) The factor of Strathspey, John Grant of Tullochgriban, was unable to advise in the matter, and after a few weeks Robinson departed, leaving William Tennoch, his assistant, to continue surveying with theodolite and chain between Castle Grant and Spey Bridge. In June, John Grant could only comment:

...am afraid he goes on without knowing what he is doing as Mr Grant of Grant has sent no directions what parts were to be measured, it will be expensive whether they are going on in the proper way or not. He be heartily sorry if what the surveyor is now doing will turn to little avail in the end.(17)

The lack of direction from James Grant may be put down to his inexperience and to the fact that several months earlier he had begun to entertain the idea of extending the survey to cover the whole estate, not just the policy grounds. By that time he had been the recipient of a good deal of sound advice from William Lorimer and others. It was Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk once again who set his mind on a general survey by advancing the following opinion:

A distinct Survey of an estate, and good roads for wheel-carriage in and about it, are essentiall requisites for its rationall and best Improvement, and at the same time to make its inhabitants happy and prosperous, which ought to be, and always will be, the care of every wise and benevolent proprietor.(18)

James Grant cannot have lacked the knowledge to have been able to provide Robinson with detailed instructions for in the same paper of Friendly Hints & Suggestions it was explained to him that:

...the survey should refer by number to a book for explanation, which should contain quality of each field, or part of it, if wett, dry, black, or what collour, clay loam or sand or gravell; its aspect, if water will command it, and nature and quality of timber, and other vegetables, even weeds growing upon any field which leads to judge of soil.

In the autumn of 1763, at the time when Robert Robinson was due

to begin his survey of the Castle Grant policies, James Grant, on failing to engage Peter May, wrote to Monymusk to ask him to recommend a 'judicious and reasonable surveyor of land.' Sir Archibald Grant in response proposed the nurseryman-surveyor Charles Ross from Paisley whose map of Renfrewshire in 1754 had been one of the earliest county maps to be published in Scotland. He had met Ross whilst undertaking a survey on Lord Errol's estate and commented that 'I could not avoid thinking him the most Rational in Manner, and resonable in price I had mett with.' Adding his observations and opinions in the usual detail he noted:

...his price is half a guinea per Day, when in the field measuring - besides maintenance and servts. or people to attend - but nothing for time for drawing and Extending Remarks and Index - and he will often measure 2 and sometimes 300 acres per day. As he surveys only in summer, and workes from very early to very late whereas others take 20£ per 100 acres. He dosnt work but about 4 mos. of longest Days, which would be about 120 Days - that is 60 guineas per ann.(19)

In advising James Grant to employ Ross he added that:

If it was mine, I would set such a man as him, to the most critical part, and somewhat under his direction, and all with the aide of Instructions, setting forth the Particulars required in plan and Observes, and at once employ at least 6 of them to begine at different parts, to have all finished in one Season.

On receiving this report from Monymusk, James Grant of Grant enquired of Robert Robinson as to the possibility of employing Charles Ross to survey the estate under his supervision. Robinson was quite frank in his opposition to this idea, admitting in a letter to William Forbes, the grieve at Castle Grant home farm, that:

I must be plain enough to inform you I have had some of Mr. Ross's Surveys lately through my hands which far from being so accurate as I could wish so that if Mr. Grant employs him please desire him to be very particular as the inaccuracy of his surveys which makes any plan I can give eronious & consequently of little use.(20)

This comment prompted James Grant not to take on Charles Ross but at the same time left Robinson with the impression that he would be asked to carry out a full-scale survey. He still entertained this notion on his late arrival in Strathspey, but Grant of Grant was 'not yet determined with regard to a general survey.' In despair Robinson wrote to him on 10th May, 1764, attempting to get a decision by detailing the manner in which he himself would undertake a survey:

If you think it worth your while to have this survey made, the method I would propose for doing it would be to employ two surveyors & a Draughtsman for the summer months & as I employ many of these people could accommodate them by giving them work on the low country the remainder of the year. I could be with them myself a few weeks in the season & superintend their works as well as make any observations this sort of country may suggest at the same time would chuse out among my surveyors one who is best acquainted with the minerals so that nothing of this sort might escape our observation,(21)

Not wishing to risk a costly and ineffective general estate survey, James Grant remained undecided. With grave reservations as to the accuracy of Charles Ross and the efficiency of Robert Robinson he was prepared to wait until he could engage Peter May, the one man he could trust to provide a survey worthy of the expense. His indecision with respect to the survey in hand, however, resulted in a virtually useless piece of work and the departure of Robinson and Tennoch amidst a cloud of bad feeling.(22)

Throughout the year 1764 Peter May had been too busy to visit the Grant estates, being heavily engaged in other work which included a division of commonry in Kincardineshire and an estate survey for Alexander Duff of Hatton.(23) However, early in 1765 he was prompted by a meeting with Alexander Innes, Commissary of Aberdeen, who had advised James Grant that 'it's my opinion he will answer your purpose

very well.'(24) Apologising to James Grant for the lack of response to an earlier letter Peter May went on to offer his services for a trial period of six weeks during which time proposals for a detailed survey were to be agreed upon:

I had formerly wrote you about a survey of your estate, and that you had something then in view of which kept me from answering yours in course. Mr. Commissary Innes called upon me the other day and enquired how I was to be employed for the summer; I ingenuously told him that I was already under engagement for the spring and summer. He then mentioned his being at Castle Grant and that you had wanted something done about your estate. I told Mr. Innes, that I was obliged to go north as early as the weather would allow to do business in the fields, to divide the farms on the Annexed Estates of Lovat and Cromarty, that my friend Captain Forbes had said a couple of months would be sufficient to do it. If on my return from that country I could undertake anything for you in this time, I should steal six weeks or a couple of months from my other engagements and be extremely glad to have it in my power to serve you. In that time I could give you such a specimen as would be necessary to go on with a survey of your whole estate, and the expense of such a trial shall be made entirely to your satisfaction. If you are at Castle Grant I shall use the freedom to wait on you on my way north.(25)

James Grant of Grant was prepared to wait for May as long as a survey could be completed before the next general setting of farms and the leasing of the major part of the remaining wadset lands which were to be redeemed in 1771. In the meantime Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk continued to supply him with the names of land surveyors, sending him details of James Robertson, a Northumberland surveyor, whom he had been assured:

...can be certified by gentlemen of note for whom he hath performed, to be duly qualified, and offering to perform upon large projects much cheaper than our Scots surveyors demand, I thought it would be agreeable to you to be informed of it in case you continue resolved to have a survey of your estate and be not engaged to another.(26)

Unfortunately, Peter May did not find the time to carry out a survey during 1766 as he had to complete engagements with the annexed estates and with Lord Findlater.(27) In September of that year he was

to be reminded once more of his commitment to visit Strathspey, and writing to Lord Findlater he remarked that 'I am much obliged to your Lordship for recommending me to Mr. Grant. There is nobody I would serve with more pleasure or greater attention, but I am afraid it will be late to begin with him after I have done at New and your town of Rothes settled.'(28) Passing on this letter to James Grant, Lord Findlater expressed a hope that May 'should go to Castle Grant, make his bargain, and see what he is to do next year, as it is possible you may not be in the country, when the season for survey begins.'(29)

On 25th April, 1767, James Grant, clerk at Castle Grant, was at last able to record that 'Mr. May came to Castle Grant and his men too' to begin a survey.(30) It had been almost 6 years to the day since Lord Deskford had suggested the employment of Peter May, 'the best surveyor in Scotland', and on this occasion James Grant of Grant made sure that detailed instructions were presented to the surveyor, an unnecessary step perhaps since May's Proposals about carrying on a Survey of Mr. Grant's Estate clearly show that he knew his business.(Appendix X) These instructions were a product of the experience gained as a result of the Robinson affair and as a result of his training which had led him to realise the essential value of a more objective approach to estate planning - an approach that required specific information on the existing status of arable and grazing land, farm boundaries, farm valuation, form of leasehold, marketing, alternative economies and up-to-date agricultural methods. James Grant of Grant made his requirements clear:

A General Survey of the Estate is wanted with the Quality of the soil, the method of Improvement & inclosing, proper, the Clauses Mr. May would have put into the Tacks to enforce Cultivation, the value as

near as he can ascertain, the most commodious place for the Farm-house & the Cottars, the proper access to the Hill, & that where marches of the tack are not so convenient Mr. May should ascertain & fix new ones & always as to every farm mark the Boundaries distinctly so as to prevent all future dispute, & as to the hill as far as possible he should name what particular Farms have a right to such & such pasture, the extent of the pasture, and how far he would limit the use of the Pasture to the size of the Farm or leave it open, which I believe will be the best way as no man will keep more cattle than he has a farm to maintain - likewise whether he does not think it proper to enforce Winter herding. Water Improvement & Lime to prohibit Gall cattle, by which I mean taking in cattle from other countries to feed during the Summer in the Hill, as this must be attended with inequality & injustice - I specify the Hill, because in the Inland Inclosures it is very profitable & meritorious.

These & everything else which can possibly occur to Mr. May as to conveying a distinct Knowledge of the Estate & the proper method of Agriculture in its full extent - likewise what land is fit for lint the proper season to attend to the sale of sheep & whether any parts are fit for hops, hemp, etc. I should think many for hops.

Mr. May should likewise consider in his valuation of the Tacks that the Inland ground is by no means the only valuable part of a highland Estate; on the contrary they place a much greater confidence as to paying their rents on their pasture than their land, I only mean by this that in valuing a tack Mr. May is to have in view its pasture as well as corn land - He will likewise give a note of what Hill improvements he finds hurtfull & what not, & wherever he finds an uncultivated place which lies properly & should be cultivated to mark it for an improver, Cottar or what he thinks proper.

Likewise his ideas as to the manner he would have the Houses on each Farm & what extent of meliorations he would have given for building of Stone Dykes or other Improvements on the place and laying down Ground in good heart with grass-seeds as one of the most useful Improvements in this Country & planting Gardens with useful Timber, if it be not proper to be a Clause in the Tacks? (31)

To assist with the survey Peter May proposed employing two of his apprentices, Alexander Taylor and George Brown 'a couple of lads who are bred to the business and can measure land by themselves.' In addition, two less qualified assistants were to be taken on for the simpler tasks of leading the chain and setting the range poles. Here May was explicit in quoting daily surveying costs:

For the first two half a crown is to be charged for each per day, and the other two one shilling each, in all seven shillings; and the surveyor is to charge for himself eight shillings per day, in all fifteen shillings for himself and four lads.(32)

Peter May's account at the end of the year was to total £102 2s. 2d. covering work done between the months of April and December 1767. (Appendix XI) In that time he and his assistants were able to survey nearly two-thirds of the estate. Starting in the east at Advie and Dalvey they worked westwards along both sides of the River Spey until they reached Rothiemoon on the south side and a line from Drumullie to the Duthil Burn Improvements on the north side. (33)

At the beginning of August, on completing measurements at Laggan and Gaich to the west of Grantown, May was urgently recalled to the annexed estates. Leaving Strathspey he asked Alexander Taylor to 'proceed according to the generall plan allready laid down', explaining that he had to return to Coigach on the Cromarty estates 'where there have been so many alterations made of late among the tennantry, which has turned them all most mutinous.' (34)

Three months later, on 9th November, Peter May returned to Strathspey for 33 days to supervise the 'dividing, valueing and putting in order such farms as were out of tack.' (35) This was to be the conclusion of his work on the Grant estates, for, at the end of the month he wrote to James Grant of Grant intimating that he was to 'give up entirely the business of surveying land' in order to take up an appointment as factor with the Earl of Findlater. Not wishing to leave Strathspey in mid-survey, he reassured James Grant as to its efficient completion by offering to find another surveyor who could count on his support when required:

As my residence must be in Elgin I can steal a day to Straspey and be happy in doing everything in my power to promote tour interest.- I think I can engage a young lad for you to survey and measure your estate by the year, which will bring it much cheaper than if carried on otherwise. Let me know if ye would approve of that. I

can say without being thought selfish that ye will go wrong without having a survey, and that it is groping in the dark if ye take another way to settle your farms...(36)

Peter May had it in mind that Alexander Taylor, his senior apprentice, should carry on the survey at the beginning of the following season, and on his advice Taylor wrote to James Grant of Grant on 5th February, 1768, to apply for the position of a salaried surveyor. Laying out his proposals for continuing the work he detailed the conditions of his employment which he expected to extend over a period of three years:

At Mr. May's desire, I have taken the liberty to lay before you the result of a communing with him, about engaging to measure and Plan your Estates, according as they ly in different corners or in any manner you are pleased to direct them at £20 a year with bed, board and washing in the family, and that for the space of three years after Whitsunday next if the measuring and planing your lands shall require that time with the addition £5 of wages for the third year, but which addition shall lie on the footing and depend entirely on my diligence and good behaviour. I need not mention that when I am out on the survey my travelling charges and entertainment are to be paid, and that I am also to be allowed the necessary guides and assistants.- surveying and drawing instruments with plan paper etc. will also be wanted.

I have been bred with Mr. May and served under him last summer in Strathspey (which makes me know from experience that the survey of an Estate in a Highland country is a more laborious and extensive work than one in a corn country) and to him I refer you as to any information concerning my capacity and character.- I proposed some perquisites to Mr. May on account of the fatigue and extraordinary wear of shoes among the heath, but he thought it better to refer anything of that kind, until you had an opportunity to see how I deserved it.(37)

Although Taylor secured the engagement and continued in charge of the survey Peter May still maintained an interest in the Grant estates, offering advice when called upon. In May 1768 his involvement in the settlement of Strathspey tenants was more or less assumed when two instructions in Mr. Grant of Grant's order about doing things required 'the two divisions of Achrosk yet unset as

mark'd off by Mr. May to be set...according to the value Mr. May put on each division;' and 'James and Agnes Grants to get the improvement at Currechullie as according to Mr. May's directions.'(38) A month later he was approached by James Grant, the clerk, who requested guidance on the Achroisk question. Uncertain as to the exact division required May wrote back to say that he would soon be in Strathspey and 'if there should be a difficulty about that or anything else then I will be able to advise you much better when I am on the spot.'(39)

Alexander Taylor was also to gain confidence from the continued guidance offered by Peter May, claiming that:

There is nothing induces me so much to think myself happy at going to serve Mr. Grant as having it in my power to get advice and directions from you (and that without ridicule), which I certainly must often stand in need of, and which I think is but the least of my duty to obey when you are so good to give me to understand that you will take that trouble.'(40)

During the 1768 surveying season Taylor worked at Delnabo and also completed A Plan of New Grantown with the Lands of Kylentra, Easter & Wester Driggy etc.,(41) before embarking upon a detailed survey of the roads between Aviemore and Slochd, and between Carr Bridge and Dulsie Bridge.(42) In the following year he was diverted to the lowland estate of Moy which Sir Ludovick Grant was to put on the market. Ludovick Grant, writer in Edinburgh, advised James Grant of Grant that in preparation:

Mr. Taylor should be immediately employed to measure the whole estate and make out a proper plan, giving the number of acres in each farm, particularly what is in Sir Ludovick's own possession, showing the improvements made thereon by planting and otherways and the extent of the ffishings, mosses & others belonging to the estate: In short all the conveniences ' advantages should appear from and be explained upon the plan.(43)

Returning to Strathspey in 1770 Alexander Taylor surveyed

extensively in the parish of Duthil and also on the south side of the River Spey in Abernethy, starting from where he had left off in 1767. But in January of that year he gave notice that from July he was to take up an appointment with the Duke of Gordon,(44) a move that prompted James Grant of Grant to request of him 'that you give me intelligible plans of all you have already done. I mean in your own & Mr. May's time, & that you do as much more in the field as you can possibly betwixt this and Whitsunday.' In order to ensure that the survey progressed as fast as possible James Grant went on to suggest that Taylor should bring in his brother to assist him during the summer of 1770.(45)

George Taylor, who had also trained under Peter May was in fact to succeed his brother Alexander as a salaried surveyor on the Grant estates in 1771. he was quick to impress his employer by producing at the end of April A Plan of the Lands of Kirktown, Kylentra and the Planted Parks, with a report on his proposed scheme of division there.(46) This assured James Grant of Grant that George Taylor's skill in surveying and quality of work was at least equal to that of his immediate predecessors.

Completing farm plans in the parish of Duthil and in the neighbourhood of Grantown, George Taylor was called upon during the months of June and July to carry out a survey in connection with an arbitration between the Duke of Gordon and Grant of Grant 'for settling and adjusting all disputes relative to the marches and commonities of their respective estates .'(47) This process had begun several years earlier in 1766 when the Duke of Gordon had directed the surveyor

William Anderson to 'exhibite a sketch of the Line of March' which he claimed.(48) Arbiters walked over the ground, but on hearing the evidence which 'swelled to several hundred folio pages'(49) they decided that a detailed survey of the whole disputed area would be necessary. Neither side could agree upon a surveyor until in 1771 James Grant of Grant, for his own benefit, asked George Taylor to survey the contraverted boundaries to the south and west of Abernethy Parish. the Duke's factor, James Ross, observed Taylor out on the hills and immediately sent Thomas Milne to make a joint survey or at least to check the accuracy of his work.(50) The end products of this survey were two detailed maps attributed to Thomas Milne, the first, a Plan of the contraverted marches betwixt the Forest of Glen-Avon and the lands of Abernethy;(51) and the second, a Plan of the contraverted marches between the lands of Kincardine and the lands of Abernethy.(52)

This was only one of the many instances in which the land surveyor had played a vital role in establishing the permanency of estate boundaries. As early as 1724 Alexander McGill, a surveyor-architect, had mapped the northern marches of Strathspey which were the cause of a dispute between Grant of Grant and the Earl of Moray.(53) In later years most boundary disputes of this kind were resolved with the aid of a surveyor as illustrated by the maps already cited and several others such as a Plan of the contraverted marches of Glaschyle betwixt the Lairds of Grant and Altyre, drawn by Peter May in 1767,(54) and a Plan of marches between Strathspey and Dunphail at Allt Dearg, possibly the work of George Taylor in 1776.(55)

Throughout the year 1772 George Taylor carried on his survey of

the Strathspey Estate, completing a volume of 32 plans of 'the land and lordship of Abernethy' which were later bound by William Sharp in Inverness.(56) He left Grant's employment in November of that year amidst a feeling of some bitterness which may have arisen from an earlier accusation that he and his brother had accepted a bribe of £5 during the boundary case with the Duke of Gordon.(57) On at least three occasions throughout the ensuing winter he wrote to Strathspey asking for an advance of money owed to him (Appendix XII) and his obvious impatience was reflected in a reluctance to complete the Abernethy volume, for even when bound he did not bother to fill in the table of contents.(58) Nevertheless, George Taylor continued to finish off fair copies of maps sent to him from Strathspey.

Alexander Taylor still maintained his links with Strathspey. In August 1774 whilst surveying at Knockando near to the eastern boundary of Cromdale Parish, he wrote to Sir James Grant of Grant to 'propose surveying Tulchen and Skiradvie, (towards finishing our Spey Map) which I spoke to you of in harvest last.'(59) This was to be the conclusion of a survey devised by Alexander Taylor and Thomas Milne who proposed publishing by subscription a Plan or map of the River Spey and country for six miles on each side of the same with perspective views of the Nobleman and Gentlemans' seats within that bound.(60) Two years later Taylor was again recalled to value and report on wadset lands that were to be set in tack between 1778 and 1780.

The completion of work by the Taylor brothers brought to a halt the surveying activity that had been pursued, albeit rather patchily,

on the estate for over 10 years. Originally intended as a landscaping exercise within the policies of Castle Grant, the survey had developed into a full scale appraisal of the entire property, prompting Peter May to recall that 'the policies of Castle Grant were not taken into the General Survey, as that part was not thought so immediately usefule according to the plan then in view.'(61)

It was not until the 1790s that the services of a land surveyor were sought once more by Sir James Grant of Grant who came to require skilled advice on the settlement of allotments and the further division and improvement of farms in Strathspey and Urquhart. In addition, the total farm rental had doubled since the last survey, indicating a trend that made accurate new valuations essential.(62) To this end Sir James wrote to George Brown on 3rd April, 1795:

You will do me the favour as soon after you receive this as possible to go up to Strathspey with the factor & consider what the rent should be of each & what may tend more or less to the improvement of them.(63)

George Brown, who had entered the land surveying profession at the age of 13 as an apprentice to Peter May, worked with May and Taylor on the survey of Strathspey in 1767. Three years later he set up a successful land surveying business of his own that was to last until 1778 when he took up an appointment as factor on the Earl of Findlater's Moray Estate. His many talents established him not only as a skillful land surveyor but also as a civil engineer, nurseryman, farmer, brewer and linen manufacturer, leading him to be described by Lord Reay as 'a man eminently skilled in his profession.'(64) The varied nature of his work in Strathspey on this occasion may be illustrated by the following memorandum of instructions compiled by

Sir James in 1796:

1. To value Dreggie and Achosnich.
2. To look at the pasture in common to Auchernack, Bellintomb, of Abernethy, Achnagonalin and Revack.
3. To settle a march between Belliefurth and Auchernick.
4. To value and divide the farms of Belliefurth, Culriach and the great meadows of Culnakyle with a moss (for Culriach) at Garlyne so as to make the meadows and Culriach serve as many tenants as may be possible.
5. To take the proper level for the River Spey at the Meadows and look at the embankments on Spey and Nethy.
6. To consider how a line of road can go from Craigbeg to fall into the new Dulsie Road by the west end of Lochindorb.
7. To direct the inclosure of Mr. McDonald's farm at Finlarig, which has been delayed too long.
8. To look at the farm of Knockanbuie and Tulchen.
9. To consider Curr with the view I have already explained to Mr. Brown in part and factor fully. (ie. for a village)
10. To take the Davoch of Tullochgriban into consideration for a two-nineteen years lease - in the consideration of Dulnan River remaining as it is and of the course being changed.
11. To look out and line the moor for the town or village of Abernethy.
12. Value farms out of lease next year.
13. To look at the farm now possessed by the Innkeeper at Aviemore and consider it an Bulladern as setting separately.
14. To consider what may be requisite at Ellack.
15. Glenbeg to be considered for different tenants and pasture and moss for Gaich. (65)

Having previously experienced long delays in waiting for Peter May, Sir James Grant was to be faced with the same problem once more with respect to George Brown. In a note to his factor on 29th January, 1801, he asked him to 'write to Mr. Brown putting him in mind that he is to survey and put a value on the farms that are to be set in Strathspey this year, and for that purpose give him a list of them that he may begin in Skiradvie, and examine and value upwards to the higher parts of the country.'(66) At the end of March he wrote again to James Grant of Heathfield anxiously enquiring whether Brown had arrived and had 'made some progress in his survey and valuation, about which too much time has been lost.'(67) On hearing that he had not yet made an appearance because of a committment to General Hay in the

setting of leases at Leith Hall, Sir James was in despair as to the survey being carried out 'in time to admit of the setts being made with propriety this season.'(68) By mid August, however, George Brown had not only arrived but was able to say that 'you may look for my report in a few days.'(69)

Little progress was made with the survey of Strathspey, however, until 1804 when Brown with the help of his assistants, John Sim and Alexander Warren, began work in the east at Tulchan, Advie and Dalvey.(70) Sandy Warren, who was described as a 'steady good young man' worked with George Brown until his untimely death in 1812.(71) John Sim, who undertook much of the later fieldwork in Strathspey, proved indispensable to Brown despite his tendency to bouts of heavy drinking. John Fraser at Cullen remarked of him that 'if he would give up low company and tippling, he might still become useful, as he is by no means destitute of capacity and when sober very much inclined to be attentive and obliging.'(72) In 1812 Sim was dismissed by George Brown for improper conduct at Pitmain, only to be reinstated shortly afterwards because of his knowledge of the partly-surveyed parish of Abernethy - 'he being acquainted with the country and the people, and having done part thereof already will finish the whole easier than any stranger.'(73)

In February 1805 George Brown reported on progress to date, Warren and Sim having surveyed and mapped each farm in turn whilst Brown had followed up by checking their work and adding his valuations where required:

I have this evening sent into Isaac Forsyth to be stitched my notes and estimates of all the lands on the west or north side of Spey

from Craggan to near Aviemore, as far as I had any materials as also the Davoch of Gartenmore, upon the south side. I am just now bussie with the contents and others of the lands that Sandy Warren surveyed last season, being Tulchen, Callendar, & others on the north of the river, Dalvey & Skiradivie on the south, but before I can finish these must trouble you to send me soon a note of the possessors, and rents now payable by each.(74)

On 15th November Brown wrote to Sir James Grant asking about the continuation of his survey in Strathspey, but on getting no immediate reply he quickly engaged himself to survey the Farquharson estate at Invercauld during the 1806 season. Although Sir James continued to correspond with George Brown, it was not until the autumn of 1807 that he had the opportunity to get him to return with his assistants to Strathspey with the expectant plea:

I trust that it will be in your power to devote the remainder of this season to my business. It is my anxious wish to make proper sett of my estates without delay, and if you could now come up to Castle Grant, we might be getting matters prepared for that purpose before the arrival of Mr. Alex. Grant.(75)

Sir James Grant was at last successful in persuading George Brown to continue with the Strathspey survey and during the period 1808-10 most of the remaining lands in the parishes of Duthil and Cromdale were mapped. Throughout this time both Sir James and George Brown were impatient to see the work completed, so much so that in writing to James Grant, the factor, Brown recommended employing an extra surveyor to speed things up:

I dined yesterday with Sir James who is better since he came down the country.- I find that he is anxious to have the Strathspey bussiness compleated, as I am.- I have therefore sent up another young man Thom Craig son of Mr. Craig my neighbour in Burmuckety, to assist John Sim in carrying on the survey - I have wrote John to begin him to the westward of his operations, and lett him survey both sides of the Dulnan to the Duke of Gordon's march close to the cornlands of Aviemore, and others upon the south east on Speyside.- I know that these moors never was surveyed and you will know where any rude draughts of the arable part of the country is wanting., and where so instruct them to survey the same, as Sir James wants the whole country

compleat.- Please also to find them proper persons or pointing out the marches of the property, also that of the severall farms, with the names of the hills, burns, and improvements lying among the hillie ground,- and recommend them where tolerable clean quarters will be found, neither of them are gentle, and they must put up with simple fair.(76)

A year later, on 24th March, 1810, Sir James Grant was able to tell his overseer that 'Mr. Brown is to be up in April to finish the valuations & surveys.'(77) The settlement of Brown's account covering the period from September 1806 until December 1810 amounted to £1,544 9s. 4d. ,(78) his charge-out rate for surveying being £1 per 100 acres for a 'rude draught' or £1 5s. for a 'fine plan'.(79) However, the survey of Abernethy Parish remained to be completed, and to this end George Brown was to send a note to Col. Francis Grant who was looking after his father's affairs during Sir James' illness, stating that he would arrive on 1st May, 1811, 'to devote the whole of that month to your matters.'(80)

Sir James Grant's anxiety as to the progress of this long drawn out survey was at last cut short when a few weeks later he died without seeing its completion. After his death fieldwork in Abernethy continued for a further two years until the survey was finally brought to an end in July 1813. On 25th August, 1814, George Brown sent in his account for the last part of the survey, amounting to £1,088 17s. 8d. besides a further £2,633 2s. in extra expences outside the normal survey rate. In all the complete cost of the survey had totalled something in excess of £5,265.(81)

The conclusion of this, the second major survey of Strathspey marked a lull in general surveying activity on the estate for over 30 years until in the late 1840s George Brown's son, Peter, was requested

by Col. Grant to report on the farms in Strathspey. But it was not until 1859 that a salaried surveyor, George Mackay, was employed for a period of eleven years to undertake what was to be the last extensive mapping and reorganisation of the estate. Thus came to an end the era of the land surveyor who had for over 100 years played a key role in the process of rural planning and in changing the face of the landscape in Strathspey. Although the land surveying profession almost completely disappeared during the mid-19th century, the method of approach and the technical skills of the surveyors were not lost but carried on into the 20th century to a time when scarcity of resources and conflicting land use interests have made land appraisal once more an important aspect of rural planning in this area.

Land Use Appraisal - an 18th Century Approach.

Outlinning his Proposals about carrying on a survey of Mr. Grant's Estate in April 1767, Peter May recommended a general survey of the entire property rather than localised surveys of specific farms requiring immediate reorganisation and settlement. In doing so he was advocating a total land use approach that would attempt to make the best use of the land as a resource. This was undoubtedly based on the theory that most rural land has a number of alternative uses to which it could be put, and that under any set of socio-economic conditions there will be an 'optimum' use and an 'optimum' organization of holdings. An essential element in efficient land use is the accurate determination of this 'optimum' use and holding arrangement, hence the employment of a land surveyor such as Peter May who had the required skill to provide the estate administration with a 'blue print' for

improvement. His proposals for the survey of Strathspey tell us the nature of his approach to land use appraisal:

If a general survey and mensuration of the estate is wanted, in that case it would shorten the work to begin at a side and carry on the lands on both sides of the river at the same time. When davochs or ffarms are pickt out here and there it protracts time much, and in the event of a general survey being taken afterwards, these partiall surveys save but little labour.

As the cornlands are the most valuable part of the estate, the greatest attention is necessary to them, and therefore the contents and measures of the severall cornfields must be accurately surveyed agreeable to their present boundings, and their name and measures markt down accordingly, with the marches of the different ffarms and the hills and pasture ground that ly contiguous thereto, so far as may appear usefull or necessary.

The courses of the burns and rivulets must be accurately surveyed to their sources, (if such fall within the lines of survey) with proper remarks where they can be diverted from their channels for watering ground, etc. which in highland estates may be turned out to much account as there is generally a command of water.

In making out surveys of the low country estates, it has been the surveyors practice for severall years bygone, to value the ground and make out estimate rentalls of what they are worth yearly, and that this may be done with the more judgement, as soon as the measures are taken and the rude draught protracted, the surveyor repairs to the ground and attentively examines the quallity and situation of the soil and rates it at so much per acre, and in this he has allwise in view that the landlord should have an adequate value for his lands & the tacksman live with industry and this he has found the most usefull application of the business.

After the lands are valued, he then proposes alterations in the boundings of the ffarms where they appear necessary. When lands lye discontiguous and at a distance from the ffarm house he generally cuts off the outskirts and joyns them to some others with which they ly more contiguous, or turns them into crofts when the quallity of the lands will bear it, and it will be necessary to have particular regard to give the severall ffarms on this estate the most convenient access to the hill.

The situation of the country is particularly attended to by the surveyor, and the means of improvement that it affords. Lands near a mercate where crofts are vendible without much carriage is of advantage particularly to a ffarmer. Again where lime, marle, or even a command of water can be had that must add very considerably to the intrinsick value of the lands, and are such means of improvement as the surveyor has much dependence on. (82)

Despite the fact that these proposals were 'just markt down as they occured, without any order or method,' they do illustrate that May adopted a systematic approach that began with basic land

measurement and progressed through processes of resource inventory and assessment to arrive at recommendations for land designation, holding reorganization, improved management and ultimately valuation.

Land Measurement.

The method of land measurement and mapping practised by Peter May and his apprentices can be deduced, largely from contemporary survey sketches made during the period 1767-70 (83) and from descriptive notes by Thomas Milne who contributed two chapters on surveying to George Adams' Geometrical and Graphical Essays, first published in 1791. Milne, who began his surveying career in the early 1760s under the guidance of Peter May, worked for the Earl of Fife between the years 1768 and 1770 before taking up a salaried surveying position on the Gordon Castle Estates where he remained in employment for 15 years. It is therefore possible to suggest that his methods were similar to those of May, the Taylor brothers and George Brown who were all members of the same 'school' of surveying in the north-east.

From the estate correspondence it is clear that instruments for both linear and angular measure were used, namely, the theodolite and chain. George Taylor in agreeing to continue the survey of Strathspey detailed the equipment required for his work, Sir James, his employer, 'affording the use of a chain and theodolite, paper and lead pencils for the rude draughts and plans, and also a room for drawing in, with hands for the chain when surveying.' (84)

Before leaving for Coigach in August 1767 Peter May gave a rough outline of the procedure to be followed by Alexander Taylor who was to

be left in charge of the survey:

I hope you will proceed according to the generall plan allready laid down - I think I had fixed that ye was not to proceed further west than the kirktown and cornlands about Duthell, but I cannot pretend to point out the precise line ye must consider and fix on that yourself and be sure to endeavour to have the last line as near as ye can the boundary of some of the farms. I do not mean your leading line to be the boundary but in the course of your filling up afterwards, take in at least all the cornlands of those ffarms which are included in the survey and that ly next to the line ye leave off at. If ye are gone to the hills and pasture before I return be sure to have proper guides to direct you as to the marches and boundarys of the estate. Be particular in marking down the conterminous lands and to whom they belong as well as the marches and as far as ye can the names of the farms, grassings or hills etc. I think ye should apply to Mr. Forbes to go along with you for a day when ye are to be on the outside marches and to have some old people and George and you to go along together according to these guides. I mean that ye both take a day or more to perambulate the marches before ye begin to the mensuration...(85)

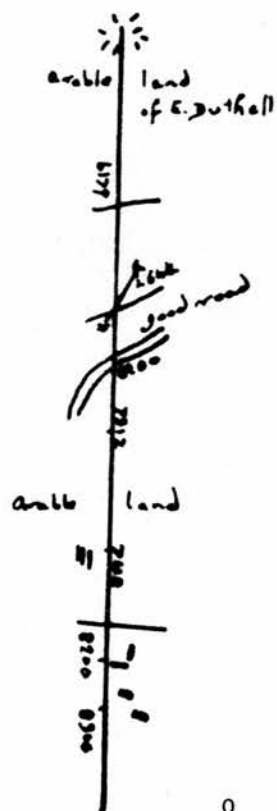
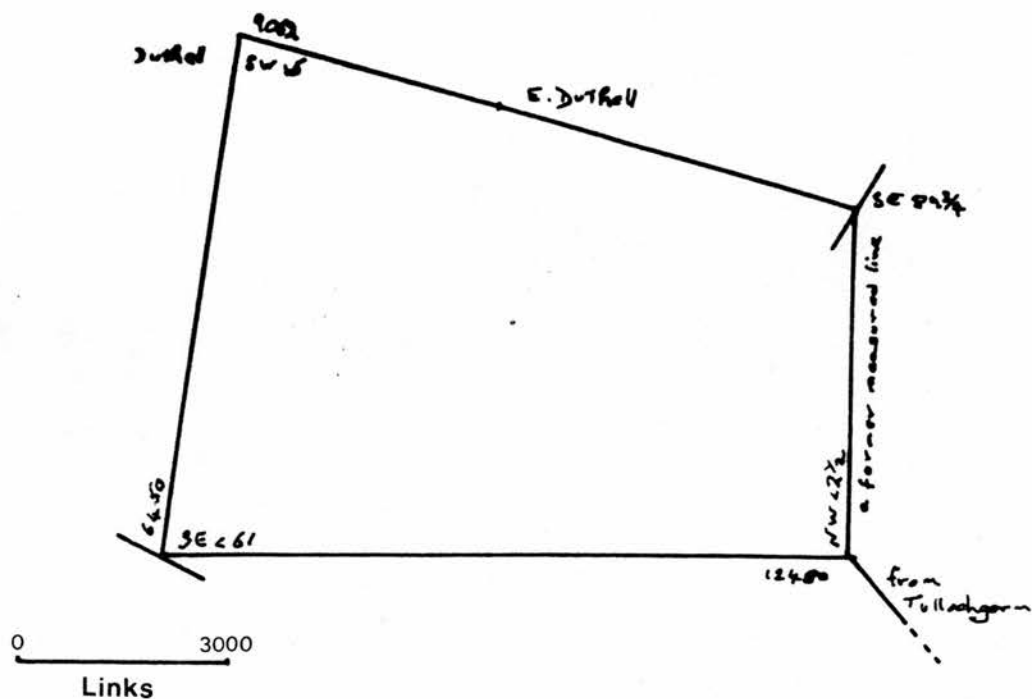
This description, coupled with the rough sketches of May and Taylor indicate the adoption of a surveying technique in Strathspey similar to that described by Milne, who, from 20 years experience was able to say that his particular method was 'the most eligible for carrying on an extensive survey, either in England, Scotland, or any other cleared country.'(86) Essentially, their experience in the Scottish Highlands had led them to divide the survey of a large upland estate of about 100,000 acres into four steps:

1. Reconnaissance.
2. Circumvolation.
3. Filling in.
4. Plotting the 'rude draught'.

(See Figs. 2.1, 2.2, 2.3)

An initial reconnaissance of the estate with guides established internal and external holding boundaries and gave the surveyor an impression of the direction in which the survey should proceed and of

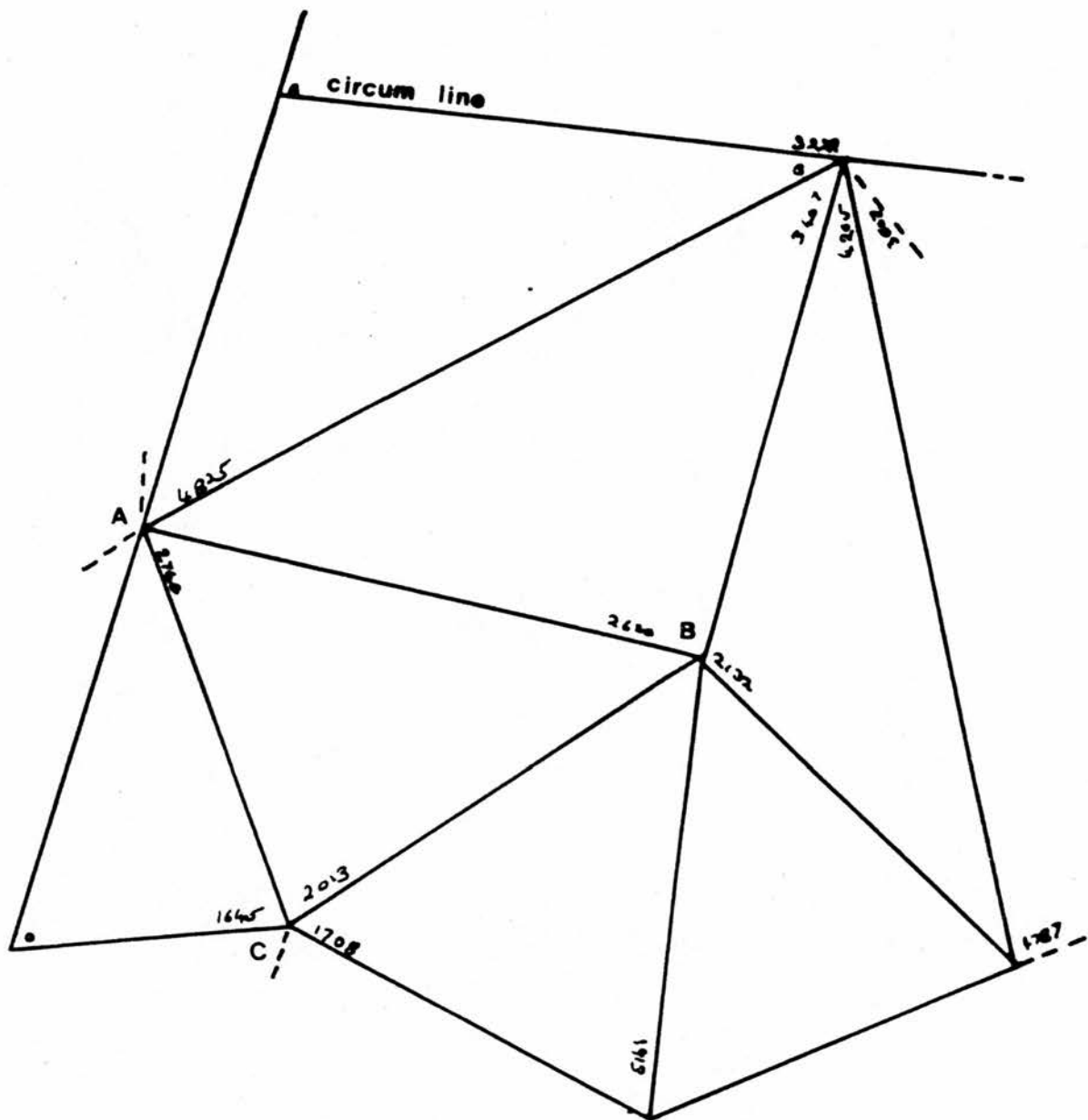
Figure 2.1
Field Sketch - Line of Circumvolution
Duthil



Field Sketch -Detail
of Circumvolution
Line

Source: GD248/200

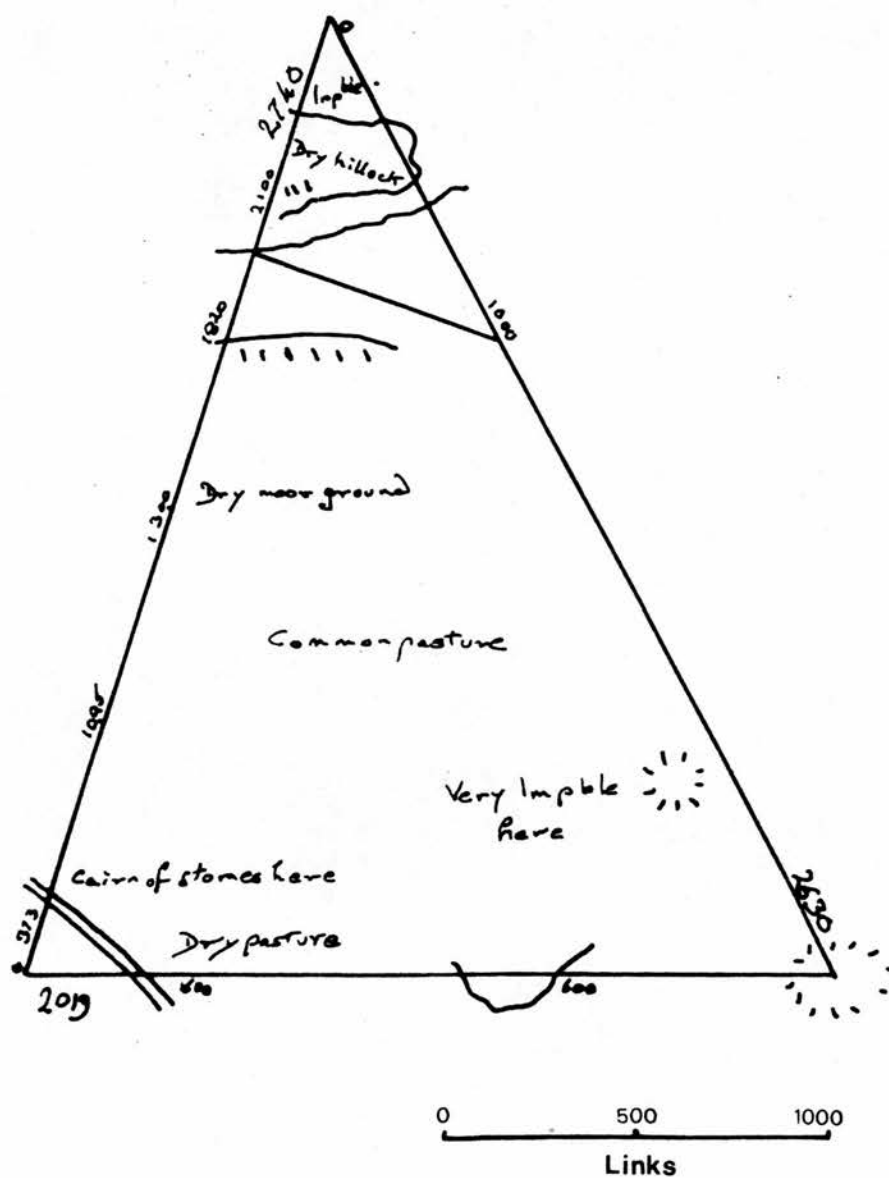
Field Sketch - Triangulation and Chain Measurement
from the Circumvolation Line
Knockankeist



Source: GD 248/200

Figure 2.2

Field Sketch - Triangulation Detail
Knockankeist



Source: GD 248/200

Figure 2.3

the clearest tract of land on which to lay down what Peter May called lines of 'circumvolation'.

From Milne's description, although he does not use the term, it would appear that circumvolation or circumbulation involved the measurement of a circuit of three or four miles, which in effect provided a framework of base lines from which a detailed survey could later proceed. The 'circum' line was first measured on the ground with the chain, setting down stations at which circuit bearings and angles of inclination were determined. If any side of the circumvolation was of considerable length its accuracy could be verified by taking angles of intersection with the theodolite to a series of fixed points from intermediate stations along the base line. Props or range poles were used to sight on and the stations were marked on the ground with a spade and represented on the field sketch by round dots. As the surveyor proceeded around the circuit he noted within the immediate vicinity of the line ground features which he either sketched or measured with offsets. In order to keep the whole sketch reasonably accurate and in rough proportion, lines of magnetic meridian were drawn with a protractor at each station where the direction of the circum line changed. At the end of the day any error discovered on closing the circuit was rectified by laboriously returning back along the line of circumvolation in the reverse direction.

On completing a circuit the surveyor transferred the data onto a second sketch at a larger scale before returning to the field to carry out a survey of the interior part of the circumvolation. Detailed filling-in proceeded along more traditional lines by means of a series

of triangles with offsets and tie lines from which features were measured or simply sketched in. The end result of the fieldwork was a collection of confusing sketches which appeared to be a complete mess of lines, figures, features and comments, but which turned out to be the raw material from which the many detailed and attractive plans of Strathspey were produced by Peter May, the Taylor brothers and George Brown.

The data from the field sketches were finally plotted at a larger scale either as 'rude draughts' on paper or as 'fine plans' drawn on linen. The fine plans, involving a good deal of artistic skill as well as cartographic precision, systematically represented ground features such as arable land, showing the course of the ridges; slope, shown by degree of shading; peat moss, with thinly-inked outline and horizontal shading; and good hill pasture, indicated by a bright green wash of paint. These features were often given an explanation contained within a key, as in Alexander Taylor's plan of Grantown (1765) and George Taylor's volume of Abernethy plans (1772).

The majority of Taylor's plans, covering the arable lands in detail, were drawn to a scale of two, three or four Scots chains to the inch, whilst those of George Brown, taking in the entire estate including hill pasture, varied in scale from four Scots chains to the inch in the predominantly arable strath to twelve Scots chains to the inch in the upland valleys of the Dulnain and Allt Lorgy. The Scots chain, measuring on Alexander Taylor's 1765 plan of Grantown '24 Ells or 74 feet each', was the usual unit of linear meaasure until the application of imperial measure as used by George Mackay in his survey

of the 1860s. Thomas Winter, the English surveyor, however, had previously used Gunter's chains and London feet in his design for a new garden at Castle Grant in 1748.

Aerial measure was generally calculated in Scots acres, 10 square chains of 74 feet equalling 1.257 statute acres;(87) the Scots acre was divided into 4 roods each consisting of 40 falls. Sketches of plantations near Castle Grant indicate that the method of determining areas was by protracting measurements onto paper and by simple geometry calculating the area of the figure enclosed within the survey lines, reducing irregular boundaries to straight lines.

Land Quality Assessment.

The measurement of the land to provide a base map of the estate was an essential first step in the progress of the general survey, whether as a preliminary to valuation or to a more detailed appraisal of the land. On completing this process, Peter May protracted the first rough draught on paper then returned to the field to examine 'the quality and situation of the soil.'(88) In effect he was at this stage undertaking a site survey with the purpose of compiling a resource inventory on which to base his assessment of valuation, holding size or improvement potential. This could only be achieved by classifying the bio-physical properties of the land, primarily soil, vegetation and terrain, and by rationalising these properties in the context of their influence on land use and land management. Today, the land surveyor would map each property individually with precise boundaries, the resultant overlays providing a rationalisation into site types which could form the basis of land designation and

management.

In the 18th century the surveyor, with a much simpler set of classifications very often proceeded immediately to the rationalisation by making descriptive-qualitative statements on the maps such as 'good spouty pasture', 'improveable ground of a clay soil', or 'steep moor ground with long heath yielding in general pretty good rough grass pasture.'(89) Here resource inventory and rationalisation were carried out more or less in one step.

Soils were variously described by Taylor and Brown whose classifications included mossy, boggy, clay, moor and haugh ground, greenbog and heath. These soil types were identified by recognising at the simplest level texture, structure, water content and colour, properties which were the basis of such qualifying terms as thin, sharp, hard, stoney, wet, dry and blue. In the corn lands soil description was usually more detailed, each field often carrying a description or quality assessment of the kind noted by John Sim in his survey of Coulnakyle Farm in 1811.(Table 2.1)

Table 2.1

Site Description and Assessment,
Coulnakyle Farm, Abernethy Parish, 1811

Hay Park	pretty good land
Broom Hill	thin land overgrown with broom
Broom Hill Park	good land
Kiln Park	good land
Nethy Park	fine land
Garden Park	good land
Haugh of Ballagowin	pretty good
Drumvore	thin gravelly land
The Allers	light haugh land

(From a plan of Bellimore and Coulnakyle by John Sim.
SRO Seafield Papers, RHP 13913.)

While George Brown was progressing with the survey of Strathspey James Robertson produced a Map of the Soil of Inverness-shire which was included in his General view of the Agriculture in the County of Inverness (1808). In this extensive review Robertson attempted to classify, map and describe six major soil groups, namely, clay, holm or haugh, loam, gravel, till and fine heath. Whilst he delineated soil boundaries on his map he claimed in the text that 'it is perhaps impossible and at the same time unnecessary to draw a precise line of distinction between all these varieties of soil.'(90) Future soil scientists would come to the same conclusion, but the value of Robertson's survey lay in his recommendations for the study of soils and in his attempt to classify and map soils as an aid to land appraisal and hence farm improvement. His work was of considerable value to land surveyors working in the north.

Vegetational classification by Taylor and Brown centred on identifying areas of pasture that ranged in quality on a sliding scale from 'very poor' through 'poor', 'bad', and 'tolerable' to 'midling', 'pretty good', 'good' and 'very good'. George Brown had more to say about hill grazing than George Taylor whose comments were largely restricted to pasture quality within the meadows, outfield or waste land, but, individual pasture species were seldom identified, the vegetational classification of hill grazing simply being divided into grass, rough pasture and short or long heath, with qualifying statements as to the quality of the pasture. At the same time woodland and scrub communities suitable for the wintering of stock were mapped, both surveyors detailing woodland types by species that included Scots Pine, birch, alder, juniper, hazel, oak and larch.

Terrain was similarly handled in a simple manner with mapped comments such as 'steep ground', 'uneven moor', 'rocky moor' or 'flat moss ground broken in the surface.'

For the purposes of qualitative analysis the surveyors mapped and measured the existing land use pattern, reducing their descriptive-qualitative statements to the simplest classifications possible. George Taylor, in compiling the table of contents to accompany his volume of Abernethy plans, classified the land into arable, grass, moss and moorland whilst George Brown in his later comprehensive survey identified arable, wood and pasture, fir wood, and pasture and moor, differentiating between common grazing and exclusive pasture, and between plantation and natural fir wood. The process of land assessment without the aid of well tried systems of classification, therefore, required a sound experience of agriculture and a descriptive expertise, both qualities that were the hall mark of successful surveyors such as May, the Taylor brothers and Brown.

Land Valuation.

For the purpose of establishing the rent at the setting of new leases the valuation of land and the detailed assessment of site quality were seen as essential prerequisites by the surveyors who themselves acted as valuers on many occasions. Alexander Taylor had valued some of the farms in Strathspey before taking up his appointment with the Duke of Gordon, and in his planes, opinion & valuation of the lands of Tullochgriban he presented his estimates as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Valuation of Tullochgriban

The Lands of Tullochgriban & Draught thereof from No.1 to No.25 both inclusive, contains viz.

	Acres	R.	F.
Arable land	93	3	20
Grass ground	34	1	37
Moor	158		9
Moss	133		16
	419	2	2

Valued at £49 19s. 10d.

From No.26 to No.43 both inclusive viz.

Arable land	59	3	32
Grass ground	44	3	18
Moor	30	1	38
	135	1	8

Valued at £32 13s. 2d.

£82 13s.

Keanloch Impt. not included in the above is valued at £3

£85 13s.

The lands of Tullochgriban and Keanloch to pay Minister's stipends & building of kirks etc. over and above the above estimate. (91)

Many of the farms in Strathspey, however, were not valued by the Taylors during the general survey of the estate and when the time came for a further resetting of lands and the redemption of the last wadsets James Macgregor, the new factor, was to write to Sir James Grant on the need for accurate valuations:

I will do all in my power to have the tenants properly settled and to have the value of the farms ascertained, but I plainly see we are all strangers as to the value of the lands in Strathspey. I mean Mr. Grant of Tullochgriban, Forbes the clerk and me by getting a note of the lands to be set at Whit. next we will take some time to look over the lands to be set and judge as nearly as strangers can do. I believe our surest rule will be to make the offerers judges provided

they are substantial good tenants. In my opinion there should not a lease of nineteen years be given except where it appears that it is for the interest of the master and tenant that is when there is no doubt of the possessions being near its value and the tenant inclinable to improve.(92)

Anxious to set the wadset lands on long lease to good tenants with capital, Sir James Grant again called upon the services of the surveyor Alexander Taylor who, during the years 1776-70, presented field by field estimates of the values of the wadset lands of Wester Tulloch, Clury and Tullochgorm. Taylor's estimates were limited to the arable land, and, although he gave a nominal value to some of the inbye grass, no attention was paid to the hill grazing.(Fig. 2.4) This was a point that George Brown was to take up in 1806 when he acknowledged that in valuation 'there was an error in not going to the extremity of the marches of property as hills now of days are valuable.'(93) Perhaps he recalled the instructions of Sir James Grant for the previous survey nearly 40 years earlier in which he had noted 'Inland ground is by no means the only valuable part of a highland Estate.'(94)

In setting the rate of valuation James Macgregor told Sir James that he was for 'raseing the rent of your estate to the utmost', being 'averse to giving farms at a low rate to indolent tenants if good ones can be found.'(95) Taylor, on the other hand, was to admit on completing his valuation of Tullochgorm in 1777 that 'it is to be remarked that this estimate, - and anything of the kind that I do, is meant to be low rather than high.'(96)

In later years George Brown was also to be accused of valuing too low, a charge which, like Taylor, he freely admitted with the

explanation that 'I hate the idea of squiseing up a rent to the highest pitch as that is generally a barr to improvement.'(97) This did not deter Sir James Grant or his son Col. Francis from employing him for the purpose of valuation which was a primary objective of the second major survey of Strathspey. On 10th April, 1813, Brown was informed that 'there are several possessions that will be out of lease at Whitsunday which cannot be settled till valued by you', and at the end of the day his employment was amply justified by the comment that 'you will be much gratified when you come up, to see with what spirit the tenants have been going on with liming etc. since they got their leases.'(98)

Contents, Estimates and Final Report.

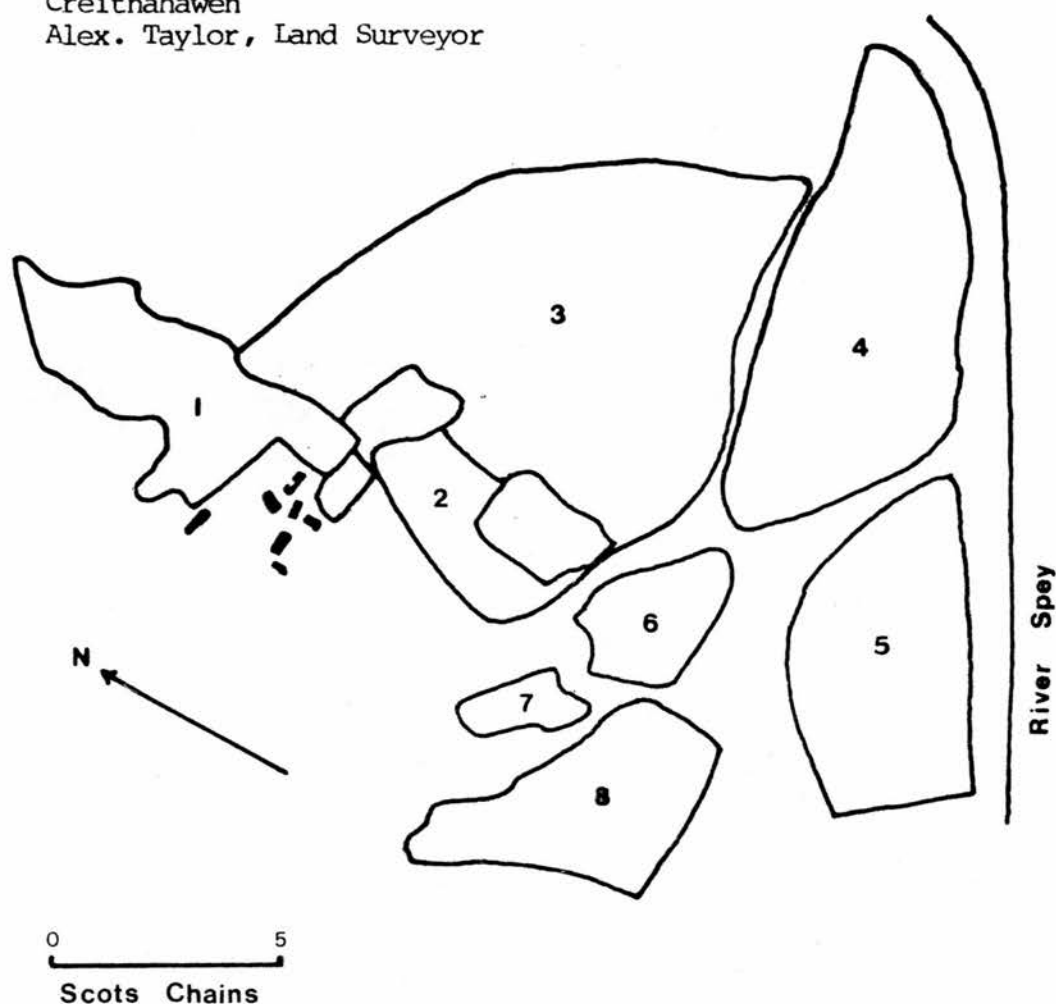
The presentation of final reports usually preceeded the reletting of farms which, in some cases, came several years after the completion of the initial survey. This is illustrated by Alexander Taylor's report on the wadset lands of Clury and the farm of Milntown of Muckerach which was submitted seven years after the farms had been surveyed and mapped, and just prior to their being set in tack to James Grant of Clury. The content of these reports varied according to the instructions of the estate administration and the nature of particular management problems such as flood control, but in general they summarised quantity, quality and value of the land as well as suggesting improvements. The format of the Clury report, for example, was typically divided into two parts, the first a general description, the second a set of improvement proposals.(Appendix XIII)

In many instances, however, the surveyor was called upon during

the survey to provide rapid reports for immediate planning purposes and to see them carried out on the ground. George Taylor in his first report to James Grant of Grant in 1771 produced a well-thought-out scheme for land division, enclosure and access at Kirktown and Kylintra near to the town of Grantown. (Appendix XIV) This brief report indicates the way in which the skilled land surveyor could dramatically change both the land holding structure and the landscape of a Highland estate such as Strathspey.

The land surveyor, therefore, did not simply record the existing landscape but played a vital role in creating the new landscape and the new social order. Coupling his skill in land measurement and site assessment with his knowledge of improved agricultural methods he put into effect the rural policies of individual land owners, and wherever there was any form of farm reorganisation, village planning or road construction the land surveyor was usually to be found. Even when the work of the land surveyors had been superseded by the Ordnance Survey their maps and reports were still a constant source of reference to the estate managers of later years who, like Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, realised the value of a 'judicious survey'.

Contents and Estimates of Tullochgorm, 1777
 Creitnahawen
 Alex. Taylor, Land Surveyor



		acres	rate	value	
1.	Black Croft	2:0:00	4s.	£2	12s. 2d.
2.	Black Croft	1:0:10	4s.	£1	12s. 2d.
3.	Little Haugh	7:0:16	6s. 8d.	£2	7s. 4d.
4.	Meickle Haugh	5:1:17	7s.	£1	17s. 6d.
5.	The Ofgang	3:2:11	7s.	£1	5s. 4d.
6.	Meadow Rigs	3:0:06	4s. 6d.	£1	3s. 8d.
7.	Croft	0:1:00	4s. 6d.	£1	3s. 8d.
8.	Croft	1:3:18	4s. 6d.	£1	3s. 8d.
	Grass among the above fields				10s.
	total	24:0:38		£7	15s. 4d.

Source: GD248/34/4
 RHP 8921

Figure 2.4

Chapter 3.

The Laird, the tenant and the Cottar: Landholding in Strathspey, 1750-1811.

Introduction.

Although by no means the only aim, the generation of wealth was the primary and most immediate objective of Sir James Grant's policy of improvement. For without increased income from the estate the Grant family could not hope to survive as great highland land owners. At first glance the total rental income from the Strathspey Estate would appear to be a good measure of the success of this policy, rising as it did from £1,720 in 1760 to £8,104 on Sir James' death in 1811. (Fig.3.1) This almost five-fold increase seems impressive and in line with the general trend that might be expected on an 'improving' estate during the Agricultural Revolution, but in reality the graph masks a number of processes that were not necessarily reflected by dramatic improvements on the ground. These processes were, however, fundamental to the changing pattern of life and landscape in Strathspey during the late 18th century and they highlight the important symbiotic relationship between laird and tenant.

During the lifetime of Sir James Grant both the structure of landholding and the pattern of rural settlement were to change. But how much of this was the result of a deliberate and planned estate policy and how much the result of wider socio-economic trends operating on the day-to-day lives of the tenant farmers? This chapter explores the changing structure of land tenure and pattern of rural

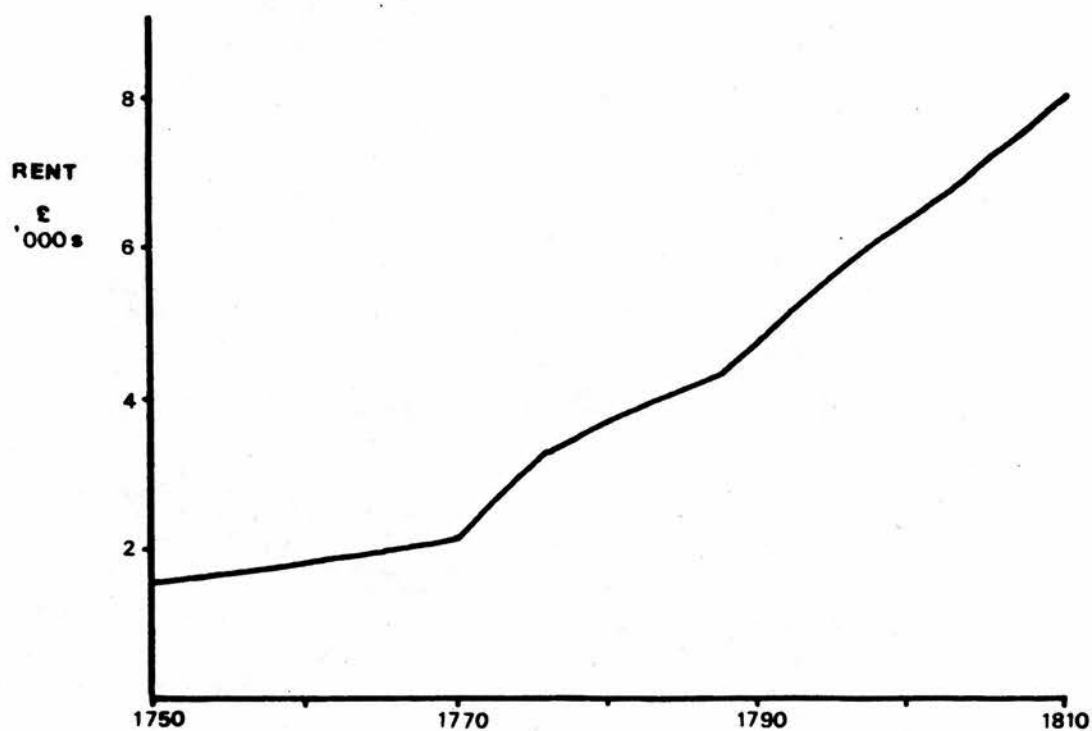


Figure 3.1 Rental of Strathspey Estate, 1750-1810.

settlement that took place in Strathspey and attempts to show how the processes involved could on occasions run counter to the schemes of the 'improving' laird.

The Structure of Land Tenure.

One way of assessing the changes in the structure of landholdings is to classify the farm tenancies that are noted in the estate rental books into size classes in the range major, large, medium and small farms, crofts and insignificant holdings and then to compare them at intervals over a period of time. Rather than use areal extent as the basis of these size classes valued rent was used in analysing the Strathspey Estate tenancies after the method used by Grant (1978). For the year 1855 (1) each size class was arbitrarily defined in terms of a range of rental values. For example, major farms were reckoned to be valued in that year at a figure in excess of £150, large farms in the range £100-£150 and so on down to insignificant holdings at a value of less than £4. In order to account for changes in rent during the time period 1762-1855 the range of each size class was modified for each of the 8 years selected in the same ratio as the total rental for that year to the total agricultural rental for 1855. By taking account of inflation in this way the size classes were comparable over the whole time period and it could not be said that if the rent of a particular farm was raised that it necessarily moved into a higher size class. By allocating each agricultural holding to a size class and by differentiating industrial property and houses etc., the tenancy structure for a given year could be described. The overall pattern of change in holding numbers is illustrated in Table 3.1 but is perhaps better expressed on a percentage basis as in Table 3.2.

Table 3.1

Agricultural Holdings, Strathspey Estate.

	<u>1762</u>	<u>1778</u>	<u>1786</u>	<u>1795</u>	<u>1817</u>
Crofts	87	138	82	113	212
Small Farms	105	101	90	111	143
Medium Farms	33	32	40	41	36
Large Farms	11	17	12	12	10
Major Farms	17	10	10	11	4
Home Farm	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
total:	<u>254</u>	<u>299</u>	<u>235</u>	<u>289</u>	<u>406</u>

Table 3.2

Agricultural Holdings (%), Strathspey Estate.

	<u>1762</u>	<u>1778</u>	<u>1786</u>	<u>1795</u>	<u>1817</u>
Crofts	34.2	46.1	34.9	39.1	52.2
Small Farms	41.3	33.8	38.3	38.4	35.2
Medium Farms	13.0	10.7	17.0	14.2	8.9
Large Farms	4.3	5.7	5.1	4.1	2.5
Major Farms	6.7	3.3	4.2	3.8	1.0
Home Farm	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.2

Table 3.3

% Agricultural Rental.

	<u>1762</u>	<u>1778</u>	<u>1786</u>	<u>1795</u>	<u>1817</u>
Crofts	8.0	13.9	8.9	12.0	21.7
Small Farms	23.7	27.0	23.9	30.0	35.6
Medium Farms	16.3	19.0	24.0	23.2	18.7
Large Farms	10.1	16.4	12.9	13.6	12.8
Major Farms	37.4	20.7	27.3	17.7	7.9
Home Farm	4.1	3.0	3.0	3.5	3.9

Landholding Size Classes.

	<u>1762</u>	<u>1778</u>	<u>1786</u>	<u>1795</u>	<u>1817</u>
Crofts	£8-40 Scots	£1.2s.-5	£1.5s.-6	£1-8	£2-16
Small Farms	£40-100	£5 -14	£6-17	£8-23	£16-42
Medium Farms	£100-200	£14-28	£17-33	£23-46	£42-84
Large Farms	£200-300	£28-42	£33-50	£46-69	£84-126
Major Farms	£300 +	£42 +	£50 +	£69 +	£126 +

The figures clearly indicate that during the period of Sir James Grant's management of the estate crofts and small farms predominate over farms in the larger size classes. The trend is one of increasing numbers of crofts and small farms except in the 1780s when there is a temporary but marked reduction in smallholding numbers and increase in farms of the medium sized category. At the same time between 1762 and 1817 there is a gradual decrease in the percentage of holdings in the major and large farm classes.

The significance of these changes not only in social terms but also in purely financial terms is apparent. In 1762 major farm tenants contributed the greatest proportion of the agricultural rental at just over 37%, whilst crofters accounted for only 8% of the total. (table 3.3) Although small farms were to remain a significant element in the tenancy structure throughout this period, contributing 23.7% of the total rental in 1762 and 35.6% in 1817, the proportion paid by crofters was to increase three-fold by the 1830s and the proportion paid by major farm tenants was to decrease to one-sixth of the 1762 figure. Within a few years of Sir James Grant's death, therefore, the importance of large and major farms as a source of estate rental had been surpassed by crofts and small farms which in 1817 together paid over 57% of the agricultural rental on the Strathspey Estate.

Just as there is perhaps more to the graph of estate rental than a direct relationship between productive improvement and farm rent there is more to the nature of land tenure than is revealed by holding numbers derived in this way from the estate rental books. The holdings listed in these documents are only those of tenants paying

rent directly to the laird, no account being taken of the remainder of the estate community that was made up of wadset tenants, subtenants, cottars and farm servants.

In the 1750s direct tenancies of land held by tenants for a term of years on lease ranged in status from those held by principal tenants or tacksmen such as Grant of Tullochgriban paying an annual money rent of £325 Scots in 1759 to those held by smallholders such as Grigor McGrigor in the Boat Croft of Cromdale paying £12 Scots rent in the same year.(2)

Grant(1978) suggests that prior to to any significant agrarian change in this area a farming class had emerged separate from the general labouring class. In addition, however, he cites a proof of 1761 for the Lands of Clury in Strathspey (3) to demonstrate the lack of subtenancies or leases of land by smaller tenants from principal tacksmen. Although in this instance there is no evidence of subtenancies on the Lands of Clury there is plenty of evidence to suggest that subtenancies did exist on other parts of the estate. Five out of the 8 auchtenparts held by Grant of Tullochgriban in 1759 for example were subsett to 7 subtenants on 9, 10 and 11 year leases similarly, Colquhoun Grant of Burnside in 1784 had 15 subtenants (4) and in 1793 John Grant of Lettoch is recorded as having 7 subtenancies on his land.(5)

Further evidence of a substantial subtenant class arises from the pages of copious notes made by the Rev. Patrick Grant, compiling an account of the population in the combined parishes of Cromdale, Inverallan and Advie, probably for Webster's population analysis of

the 1750s.(6) This document gives a detailed insight into the social structure of 16 out of the 18 Davoch Lands of the parish, only those of Tullochgorm and Clury being missing from a survey of those residents over catechisable age. In addition to describing 351 families of tenants and subtenants he also mentions the existence of 177 male and female servants and 15 melanders or cottars holding small pieces of land in return for services to the tenant. For the Davoch of Achnahannet, for example, Patrick Grant notes 21 families including 17 associated servants. The Judicial Rental of 1759 (7) details only 9 tenancies in this davoch, therefore, it seems likely that the difference is made up of subtenants since no cottars are given a mention.

A cottar population of 15 in this corner of the estate does not seem to be substantial although Cottartown as a place name does appear in George Taylor's survey at Tullochgorm (8) and in the estate rentals in the Davochs of Castle Grant and Culnakyle and in the Barony of Cromdale.(9) Judging by the number of farm servants mentioned by Patrick Grant it appears that by the 1750s there was already in existence a small labouring class that was not dependent on the holding of at least a small piece of land. If there had been a substantial cottar class then there would surely have been no need for the principal tenants or 'country gentlemen' to have complained in 1769 of the lack of 'servants necessary for managing our respective possessions.'

By 1807 a rapidly increasing population had begun to change the situation as illustrated by a List of the Cottars in the Parish of Abernethy compiled by Peter Grant the local Ground Officer.

(Appendix XV) There he detailed the presence of 145 cottar families, a figure that amounts to about 60% of the families in the whole parish when compared with the data from the 1811 census.(10)

It does, therefore, seem clear that on the Strathspey Estate there was a well defined tenurial hierarchy that ranged from the principal tacksmen who more often than not were related to the chief down through the smaller tenants and subtenants to the labouring cottars and farm servants. During the latter half of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th century great changes did take place, but these were primarily at the lower end of the hierarchy. Some of these changes begin to come to light in the estate rentals but for a clearer picture of the processes in action it is necessary to look more deeply into the estate correspondence of the time.

Wadset Lands

In 1763 William Lorimer in a list of Things deserving Mr. Grant's attention noted that 'when Sir Ludovick came to the estate, near one half of it seems to have been wadsetted.'(11) The wadset, superceded by the bond and disposition in security, was a form of mortgage or security on land first used on a large scale in Strathspey by John Grant, 5th Laird of Freuchie, as a means of raising money during the early years of the 17th century when extensive land purchases occasionally required heavy borrowing. In return for the loan of a principal sum of money over a fixed period of time interest was paid by allowing the wadsetter to receive from the proprietor of the land the right to all rents in cash, produce and services.(12) The

amount of money lent on wadset was, therefore, usually no more than the principal sum of which the annual interest equalled the valued yearly rental of the land.

The original wadsetters were observed by Lorimer to be mostly younger sons of the chief's family 'to whom the laird gave a share of the estate as their Patrimony to keep them in the country, and be ready to assist him in the military style.'(13) Services both military and domestic remained part of the written contract even as late as 1729 when James Grant of Dell in a contract of wadset over the lands of Rynetin, Rynuie and Achdergannoch was obliged to 'give his personall service all on his own charges alike with other wedsetters in Strathspey when lawfully cited yrto...and perform yearly to the house of Castle Grant the carriages and servitudes of wine, salt, iron, lime, slate, timber and hewen stone when lawfully required soe to doe.'(14)

Sir William Fraser(1883) noted that the wadset holder was in effect the proprietor of the land, being considered a lesser baron and being designated by the name of his wadset lands.(15) Lorimer had come to the same conclusion when considering the 'advantageous wedsett' of Lurg, stating that 'he and not Mr. Grant is Laird of Abernethy.' From his Observations on the Wedsetts it is clear that most of the 'Gentlemen Wadsetters' did not wish to see their profitable wadsets redeemed but preferred to pay the extra augmentation rent or superplus rent at each new prorogation as the value of the land increased.(16) During the 1720s, for example, Delrachny extracted £725 13s.11d. Scots from the 38 tenants on his wadset lands of Delrachny, Kinveachy, Foregin, Lethendy, Duthil and

Beananach, this sum exceeding the interest of £518 payable on the principal sum of £8,633 6s. 8d. at a rate of 6%. An augmentation rent of £43 6s. 8d. had already been paid since a previous prorogation which, being deducted from the real rent left a free rent of £682 6s. 8d. and therefore a superplus rent of £164 6s. 8d. to be paid by Delrachny to the Laird of Grant at the second prorogation of wadset.(17)

On 13th June, 1719 the entire wadset lands on the Grant Estates were judged to be redeemable for a total sum representing £73,233 6s. 8d. borrowed by the Laird of Grant from wadsetters receiving £6,400 in real rent - an overall yield of 8.7%.(18) When Sir Ludovick Grant took over the estate in 1747 the interest rate had fallen to 6% and he made an attempt to regain control of the land by the redemption of wadsets. In this he was frustrated by the continuing burden of old debts and the contraction of new ones as a result of his father's surety for the bankrupt Houston family and the expenses incurred during the 1745 Jacobite Rising in 'paying his men, and keeping up a numerous company of nobility and gentry who took sanctuary in his house.'(19) The end result was the granting in 1752 of further prorogations of wadset mostly redeemable in the mid-1770s. All of these were granted to those of the name Grant and effectively put off the day when these lands could be included in the estate rental. In the same year Sir Ludovick obliged the wadsetters to renounce their right of servitude in the woods 'and have no more wood than Mr. Grant is pleased to allow them.'(20) This agreement was apparently ignored as Lorimer noted in the case of the wadset lands of Lurg where there was 'a great number of tenants who live on the skirts of the wood, and

by stealing from thence pay their rents to Lurg.'(21)

According to Lorimer, Lurg and his tenants (totalling 22 in the 1720s) had not only made free use of the woods but also 'improv'd a great deal of new ground, which will let well at the redemption of the wadsett.'(22) This is confirmed by a registered minute of wadset in 1748 between Sir James Grant and John Grant of Lurg and by A Rentall of Lurg and Clachaik in the following year. (Appendix XVI) The minute of wadset of the 'Town and Lands of Ellen, Line Chynich and Croft Dow, Lyne Fhercur and Lyne Sliachlach' unusually mentions the sheilings of 'Dyrdow and Altnaherry' suggesting lands already improved or about to be improved.(23) Similarly, during the 1730s the prorogation of the wadset lands of Gorton and Glenbeg detail sheilings in this way indicating early improvement outwith the direct control of the estate.(24) In the 1749 rental of Lurg and Clachaig in Abernethy Parish £65 12s. 4d. Scots or amounting to 18.8% of Lurg's rental income of £348 0s. 8d. was derived from crofting improvement on sites such as Inchtomach, Lyngarry and Lupnedow, all located in and around the Abernethy Forest.

In 1763, before James Grant of Grant came north, William Lorimer compiled a list of the remaining wadset lands in Strathspey then redeemable for the sum of £6,984 8s. 10d. (Appendix XVII) He considered the redemption of wadsets to be an essential step towards complete control over the property and quoted the experiences of the Earl of Breadalbane who had described the wadsetters on his estate as oppressors of the poor and, on redeeming all his wadsets, had remarked with satisfaction, 'I am now master of all my own Estate.'(25)

Although he did not believe redemption would bring in a great deal of extra income, since augmentation rents were by then generally received from most of the wadset lands, Lorimer noted that 'Your wadsetters firmly believe you are not to redeem 'em - the parish of Duthel is worth one third more than its present rent -The fine spots that may be improved are immense.' In addition he recommended that 'all the estate must be surveyed before whitsunday 1771' when over half of the wadsets would fall due to be redeemed.(26) Clearly, on redemption of wadset, rents could then be pushed up in line with the rest of the estate far more than Lorimer realised.

In 1770 James Grant of Grant made it known that he had in fact 'resolved to redeem the wadsetts in Strathspey as soon as permitted by the wadset rights' (27) and in the following year the wadset lands of Delrachny, Gartenbeg, Milton of Duthil, Congash, Kinchurdy, Gartenmore, Finlarig and Muckrach were redeemed. Five years later there followed the redemption of the davoch lands Tulloch, Lurg and Tullochgorm and finally, in 1780, the davoch lands of Clury, last of the wadset lands was redeemed. On the neighbouring estate of Strathavon Gaffney(1960) pointed out that all of the Duke of Gordon's wadset lands had similarly been redeemed by 1770. The wadset lands were subsequently either set in tack to the former wadsetters on a long lease or else reduced to be set as a number of tacks of 15 or 19 years duration. Forsyth (1806) noted that many of the Strathspey farms had 'been for a long tract of time much more extensive than in the low country, owing to the circumstances of their having been formerly wadsetted...and though the wadsets are redeemed, yet the farms continue to be possessed by the representatives of the ancient

possessors.'(28) The bond of kinship was still present and much played upon by the former wadsetters and principal tenants.

In 1770, prior to the redemption of wadsets, James Macgregor, the factor of Strathspey, had proposed to Sir James Grant that the wadsetters 'should be settled with first for their own possessions and what more is contiguous to them and what they would incline to possess, and that the other lands subsetted should be proclaimed to be sett and offers taken in and if they come near what is offered by good tenants you can let them have it.'(29) He believed that the gentlemen wadsetters were keen to maintain their wadset lands on a long lease but favoured their reduction as he explained to Sir James that 'in the present state of affairs it would be as proper that you had the profit of the lands they would propose to subsett.'

Sir James Grant had already reached this conclusion some years earlier and had intimated to one wadsetter, Lachlan Grant of Gartenbeg:

As the term of the expiration of your wadset is now come - I should be glad to know what you would wish to keep as a farm - I leave it in your option, either to take Gartenbeg, or Gellovie, or Lynachurn, I desire your answer that I may reserve accordingly for you and set the rest.(30)

Nevertheless, even though Macgregor had suggested that wadset lands such as Lurg would bring in a higher rent if set to a number of tenants there appear to have been few offers to compete with those of the gentlemen wadsetters who on the whole managed to maintain their old possessions and subtenants by securing long leases. The Laird of Grant had at least begun to gain complete control over all his property - the remaining subtenants would have to wait till a later

date but in the mean time economic necessity required that he accept the offers of the former wadsetters. As far as total estate rental and holding numbers are concerned, the marked increase during the mid-1770s is, therefore, partly explained by the redemption of wadset lands and their subsequent inclusion as leased farms in the estate rental books.

Hill Improvements.

The settlement pattern in Strathspey as sketched by William Roy in his military survey (1747-55) shows a fairly close line of settlement largely restricted to the lower lying, more freely draining land bordering the major rivers of the Spey, Dulnan, Nethy and burns of Brown and Dorback.(Fig.3.2) This settlement pattern had remained little changed for many generations prior to the mid-18th century although some cultivation had extended into the grazings on the south-west edge of Abernethy Forest in the previous century.(31)

The earliest improvements on hill ground are recorded on Roy's map and are located on the marches of the Strathspey Estate mostly to the north at places such as Tirebegg by Lochindorb and Limekilns, Aittendow and Rychraggan on the Dava Moor. By 1753 there are 18 hill improvements included in the estate rental,(32) but ten years later in 1763 there is a dramatic increase to 85 recorded improvers(33) although the Aberdeen Journal in April of the same year quotes a higher figure stating that 'there have settled on these new grounds above one hundred and fifty tenants.'(34) The discrepancy can be accounted for by the fact that wadsetters' tenants are not mentioned

Strathspey Estate Settlement Pattern, 1750.



Source: Roy's Survey (1747-55)

Figure 3.2

in the estate rentals. However, A note of new improvers in Sir Ludovick Grant's Estate of Strathspey, 1767-68 gives a more realistic figure listing 172 improvements up to that date, including those on all of the remaining wadset lands.(35)

The distribution of these hill improvements shows the movement that had taken place during a period of about 15-20 years, outwards and upwards onto the moorland and upland grazings often at altitudes in excess of 400m.(Fig.3.3) The majority of these improvements were located in the parish of Cromdale on the comparatively level land associated with the freely draining gravelly and morainic deposits of the Dava peneplain. In Duthil Parish the hill improvements lay mostly on south facing slopes to the north of the Dulnain River and in Abernethy Parish improvements extended into the Braes of Abernethy and around the fringe of the great Abernethy Forest.

As his father, Sir Ludovick Grant , had done before him Sir James Grant of Grant was to place great emphasis on the possibility of extending arable cultivation by reclaiming hill and moor ground. In this he was aided by land surveyors such as George Taylor who was able to select improvable sites and mark them out on the ground.(Appendix XVIII)

The Duir or Doir Improvement as surveyed by Taylor was a typical hill improvement of that period.(Fig.3.4) It was occupied in the 1760s and 1770s by Duncan Fraser, a subtenant of Tulloch who had improved 6 Scots acres out of just over 20 Scots acres of land leased to him on the fringe of the Abernethy Forest, the whole being enclosed partly by a ditch and partly by a feal dyke.

Strathspey Estate Hill Improvements, 1768.

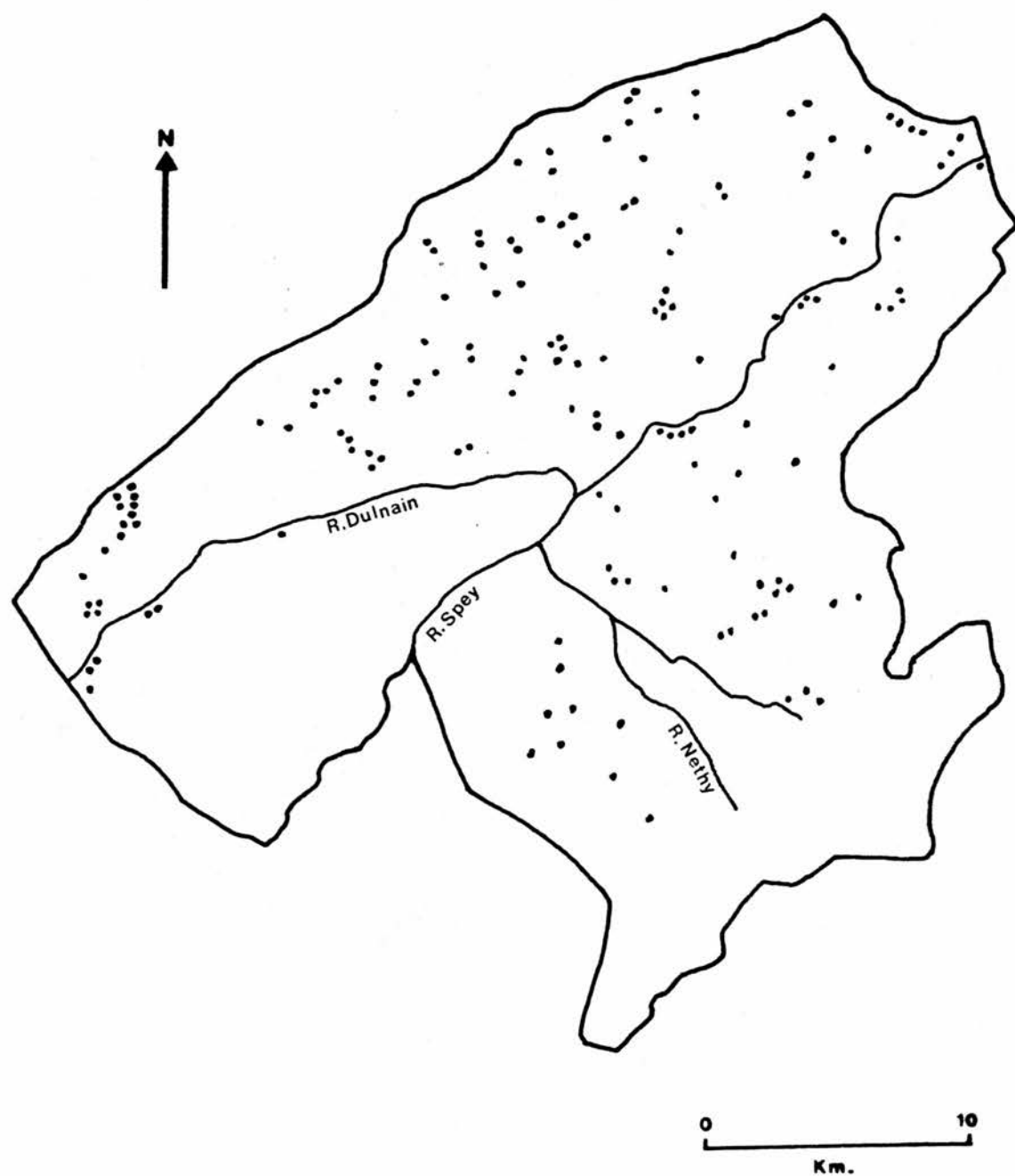
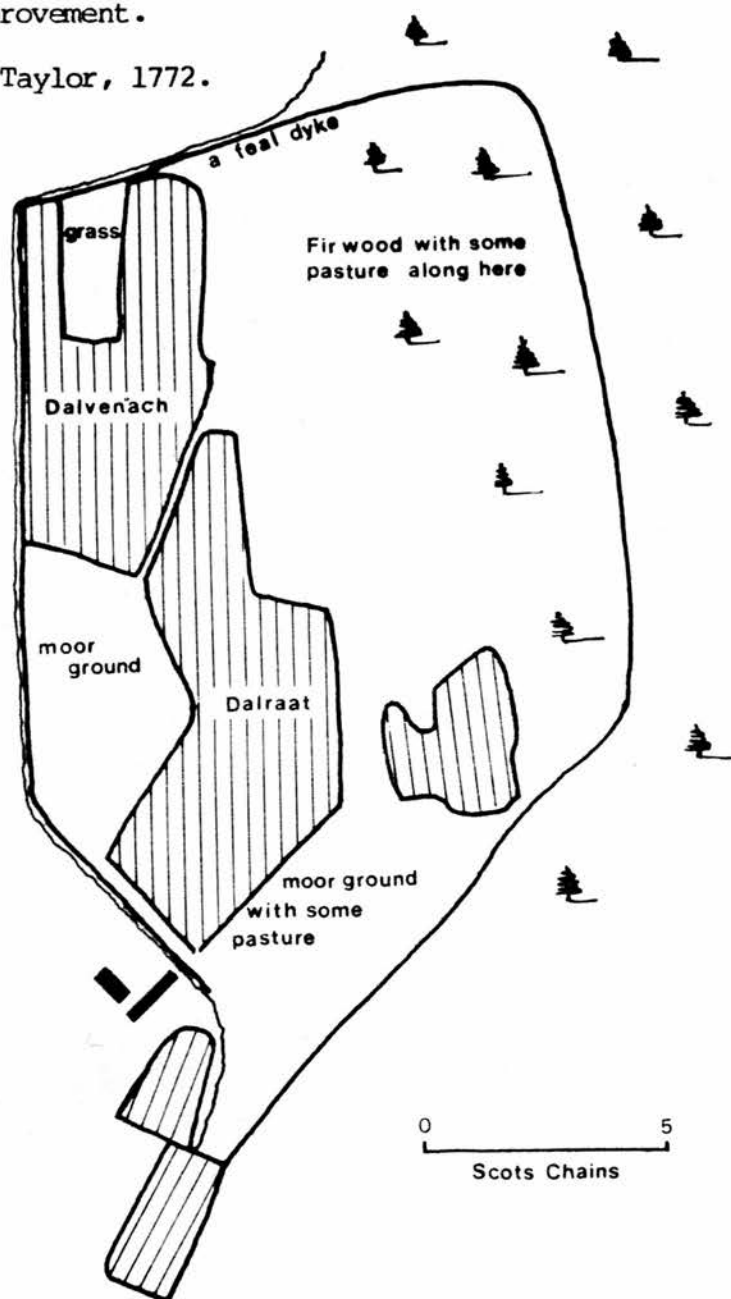


Figure 3.3

The Duir [Doir] Improvement.

Surveyed by George Taylor, 1772.



<u>Contents</u>	
Arable land	6:0:16
Pasture land	<u>14:1:02</u>
Total acres	<u>20:1:18</u>

Source: RHP 3964/1

Figure 3.4

Many of these hill improvements were on the sites of former summer shielings and nearly all were located in the midst of common grazings. In 1755, for example, 'The sheal in the hill of Inverallan called the Shean Dell' was set to Thomas Grant in Ballavoulin who was to 'labour and improve the same.'(36) Sir James Grant insisted that in setting leases the factor was 'not to mention grazings or sheilings in the tack,'(37) thus making it easier for him to set improvements in the open hill to new tenants. In this he was following the advice of William Lorimer who had previously noted that:

Formerly the laird let to the tenant in his tack, Grassings and Sheallings, as well as the lands of the farm - you must now explain this, lest you deprive yourself of the power of letting any improvements. Lord Deskford says, he allows the tenant to improve so much of the hill or common every year, which if the tenant fails to do, My Lord reserves power to himself to lett it to another. In the late tacks Sir Ludovick has not mentioned grassings or sheallings.(38)

In a list of recommendations regarding improvements Lorimer was also to point out that improvers should reside on these improvements unless they were close to a tenant farm suggesting that 'when great tenants get improvements at a distance, they use them as grazings, but don't plow 'em - which don't answer the end of Improvements.'(39) This observation was in fact to pin-point a major area of conflict between hill improvement and grazing.

The emphasis on increasing arable production by extending the area of cultivated land into the open hills did not prove as great a financial success as Sir James Grant had hoped and by 1778 the total number of hill improvements had dropped from a figure in excess of 170 to 77 in number.(40) Many Improvers found it hard to survive on isolated holdings far from roads with only a small acreage of cornland

and a few sheep and cattle to support them and for some the particularly bad harvests of the early 1780s were eventually to be the final blow. William Grant in Lynmacgilbert (now Forest Lodge) in Abernethy Forest complained that his crops had been a failure for several seasons and that the River Nethy had repeatedly flooded his small patch of improved land to such an extent that 'it has overcome your petitioners efforts to the degree that he is reduced in circumstances.' (41)

To the established tenants of Strathspey who had traditionally grazed their sheep and cattle on the common grazings the setting of a large number of hill improvements was a great inconvenience. Improvers were a constant nuisance, often being accused of muirburn, molesting cattle and of keeping cattle other than their own rather than cultivate their holding. The improvement of Garvauld had been set down on the route between the farm of Corriechullie and its associated hill pasture much to the annoyance of John Watson, one of the tenant farmers, who was to complain bitterly:

There is no road to the Hill pasture belonging to these lands but by the improvement of Garvauld and notwithstanding your petitioner usually sends a herd along with their cattle till they are passed this improvement yet John Grant the present possessor thereof not only stones and hurts them away with dogs but likewise threatens the herd and chases him very often to beat him. (42)

Not far off, but at a later date, Alex Cameron in Delbog was to make a complaint against the improver in Rychallich near Tulloch, requesting that he be ordered to inclose his improvement 'as the half of that place is wide open which is very disagreeable to all that sends cattle to the common pasture.' (43) Some so-called improving tenants had obtained hill improvement sites but had made no attempt to

cultivate, simply using them as exclusive hill pasture. On the Dava Moor the improvements of Glasnich, Luacharbaan, Badchir and Derrilean were held by tenants in the parish of Cromdale but according to the tenants in the farms of Milton, Anagach and West and East Port who used the surrounding grazings, 'there is not an rige of all this four inclosures labored altho they be in possession of them this four or five years past.'(44)

The settlement of large numbers of improvers with their livestock on the common grazings was certainly an irritance to many of the Strathspey tenant farmers, but worse than this much of the best grazing was suddenly now lost to them. It is, therefore, not surprising that tenant farmers began to complain desperately to Sir James Grant for the lack of good summer grazings. Robert Geddes in Achnahannet sent in a petition against Lewis Lawson who had been set 'a little of the commonty of Achnahannet' claiming that 'he has so inclosed my commonty and pasture so as I can neither send an beast to the hill nor take home my peats turff or divots for bigging.'(45) Similarly, Philip Grant in Kirktown complained that he was 'much hem'd in on all sides' and asked Sir James to 'accomodate him with a hill place.'(46) In Abernethy Parish Lewis Grant, waiting to hear if he was to get the lease of the improvement of Straanchuiller stated categorically 'that it was the ruin of the people that was at Bellifurth to want a way (ie. place) for their cattel in summer.'(47)

Some farmers, such as James Grant in Lettoch who was 'distressed for want of grass and a hill room', offered to pay higher rents for hill improvements with a view to restoring them to their former use as hill grazings in the summer months.(48) Since Sir James Grant was

not only hard pressed by a large number of tenants in search of pasture but also in desperate need of cash in the 1770s he could do nothing else but abandon his plan to completely reclaim the open moors of Strathspey.

Many of the hill improvements were consequently 'laid waste' in the 1770s and 1780s but still provided income to the estate in the form of leased hill grazings held either by single tenants or in common by a number of tenant farmers. On taking the substantial farm of Culnakyle Captain Ludovick Grant was to write to Sir James Grant in April 1776 to remind him that he had been promised a hill grazing to go with it:

I take this opportunity to put you in mind that at my entry to Culnakyle I then observed there was no sheal or glen annexed to the farm which I now find from experience to be a very great loss to me and must be so to any body who will sit here after in this place, I remember soon after I got my short lease that I asked the favour of you to let me have some Improvement in the neighbourhood for a sheep room upon which you was pleased to desire me fix upon a spot of that sort and that I should certainly have it. I then mentioned Rynuie to be the most convenient shealing for culnakyle and you was kind enough to promise me preference upon equal terms at the expiry of Tulloch's lease who has it now in tack, I would upon no account presume to take up so much of your time with an affair of so small consequence but that I have reason to believe that several's may be asking for it and that there is not a farm in all your interest stands more in need of such a place as I cannot keep a sheep in Culnakyle without a hill possession.(49)

The 21 Scots acre(11Ha.) improvement of Rynuie was annexed as promised to Coulmakyle at an annual rent of £5 5s. showing that Sir James Grant had resigned himself to the needs of his tenantry as regards hill pasture. That this was both a financial and a social expedient can be judged by the reaction of William Stuart in Croftnahaven who had in a similar way leased the former improvement of Rynerrick as a 'grassing' for his cattle in 1781. He made it clear to Sir James that:

Altho I pay a higher rent for it than it ever payed before, yet I hold myself singularly obliged to you for it, as I could not make bread to my family without it and with it I trust I will be able to pay your rent regularly and maintain my family decently which is the height of my ambition.

Since Stuart's ground was encroached upon by so many people he intended to have it enclosed and thereafter 'have a little sown grass for my working cattle.'(50)

Although many of these hill improvements reverted to a predominant grazing function the arable element did often linger on as in the case of the Doir Improvement where half the improved land was retained in arable for many years.

On the far side of the Spey on the Dava Moor the uncultivated improvement of Derrilean that had caused so much trouble with the tenants of Achnarrowbeg was by 1787 to be held in common once more after a petition suggesting:

That the laying the said improvement of Dyrrilian waste, may be judged by your Honour far more to your Honour's interest as well as to your petitioners, as upholding it in name of an improvement so hurtful to your petitioners and neighbours.(51)

In 1782 Sir James Grant had already decided that the only course of action was 'to divide these hill places as much as possible so as to make the benefit of them be felt as extending to as great a circle as possible of the country.'(52) Consequently in the case of Derrilean the former intended improvement was divided amongst the

tenants in the davochs of Dellifure, Port, Achnahannet, Achnarrownmore and Achnafearn, each auchtenpart paying 1s. and holders of a lesser quantity of land 6d. per year in rent.(Appendix XIX) This approach was taken in many instances as at Aultyoulie, again in a remote part of Dava. There the factor recommended that the former improvement should not be given to one tenant as a hill grazing but leased to the tenants of 5 farms in Cromdale, commenting that 'it will make the whole happy and they will give a good rent for it.'(53)

Occasionally, on the other hand, improvements were consolidated as upland grazings under one single tenant as in the case of Patrick Grant, a grazier in Glenbeg, who took over the leases of the improvements of Cairnglass, Rysaurie, Drumvattan and Glaicknasourie, formerly held by four improvers near the Burn of Duthil.

However, in some quarters there was resistance from improvers to their holdings being laid waste in this way, as at Slochdmuick where 5 tenants who had been given summonses for removal despite paying their rent on time, objected successfully to their land being taken over for cattle pasture.

Some improvements had been in fortunate locations near to roadways and had been cultivated successfully and industriously by the improving tenants who were able to make good offers when their leases came up for renewal.(54) Improvements of this kind often did survive. as in the case of Easter Crannich where the tenant, who had been there for 23 years, offered to renew his lease in 1809 for a rent of £9 6s., having already built a stone house and dykes 'besides improving several pieces of ground that was never improved before.'(55) On the

improvement of Straanrigh in 1806 John Geddes made an offer not only for a renewal of his own lease but for the lease of a former improvement that had been laid waste claiming that:

I have improved it much since I entered with it and still if encouraged by a renewed lease of it and adjoining spott formerly thrown to open pasture and by no means so advantageous to the interest of Sir James in that condition as it would complete this farm and on that account I could give more than double rent.(56)

Although improvements such as this still carried on well into the 19th century the initial flush of hill improvers in the 1760s had largely been chased away by a combination of physical, social and economic factors. The end result was the restoration of much of the hill grazing to the tenant farmers of Strathspey, but only to those who could now afford to pay for it.

Consolidation of Holdings.

The process of consolidation that had begun in the late 1770s with the contraction of hill improvements continued into the 1780s throughout the estate as a whole. After the initial rise in the number of crofts and small farms recorded between 1768 and 1778 in the estate rental, there was in the 1780s a sudden decline in the number of holdings in these categories and an increase in the number of large and major farms.(Table 3.1) In all the total number of agricultural holdings were reduced from 293 to 230 at this time. The minister of Cromdale Parish writing for the OSA observed the process of consolidation in progress and noted that 'the union of farms is frequent, one man now occupying as much land as was, 40 years ago, possessed by 5 or 6 families.'(57) His impression of the magnitude of the process was slightly exaggerated although there were instances when extensive consolidation did take place. The redemption of Lt.

John Grant's wadset of Kinchurdy in 1771 had been followed by a partial reduction of tack adding 6 tenancies to the estate rental. By 1786 the entire 12 aughtenparts had been consolidated once more under Lt. Grant as principal tenant with a money rent that had more than doubled from £40 16s. 8d. in 1771 to £87 9s. 1d. in 1786. (Fig.3.5)

In the majority of cases, however, the process of consolidation was less dramatic and usually involved the amalgamation of half or whole aughtenparts by a single tenant.(Fig.3.6) There are no reliable population figures for the 1780s to indicate whether there was a reduction in population but the figure of 5,222 for the total population of Abernethy, Cromdale and Duthil in the 1801 census is 1,362 down on the figure of ~~6624~~ quoted by Webster in 1755. (Table 3.4)

Table 3.4

	<u>Population change, 1755-1811</u>		
	<u>1755</u>	<u>1801</u>	<u>1811</u>
Abernethy (& Kincardine)	1676	1457	1709
Cromdale	3063	2187	2010
Duthil (& Rothiemurchus)	<u>1785</u>	<u>1578</u>	<u>1613</u>
Total:	<u>6624</u>	<u>5222</u>	<u>5332</u>

	<u>Percentage Intercensal Increase/Decrease.</u>	
	<u>1755-1801</u>	<u>1801-1811</u>
Abernethy (& Kincardine)	-219	+252
Cromdale	-876	-177
Duthil (& Rothiemurchus)	<u>-207</u>	<u>+35</u>
Total:	<u>-1302</u>	<u>+110</u>

Figure 3.5 Tenancy Diagram
Davoch of Kinchurdy.

1771	1772	1786
12, 8n pts. Kinchurdy Wadset Redeemed	6, 8n pts. Kinchurdy 8n pt. Avilochan 8n pt. Avilochan 8n pt. Avilochan 8n pt. Avilochan 8n pt. Avilochan 8n pt. Laggantygowan	12, 8n pts. Kinchurdy
redemption of wadset →	reduction of tack →	consolidation

Figure 3.6 Tenancy Diagram
Davoch of Auchnarrowbegg.

1778	1786
½, 8n pt. Tombain ½, 8n pt. Tombain ½, 8n pt. Ouchtugorm ½, 8n pt. Ouchtugorm ½, 8n pt. Auchnarrowbegg ½, 8n pt. Auchnarrowbegg Croft of Craigbegg 8n pt. Craigbegg 2, 8n pts. Culfoichbegg 2, 8n pts. Culfoichbegg	½, 8n pt. Tombain ½, 8n pt. Tombain 8n pt. Ouchtugorm 8n pt. Auchnarrowbegg Croft of Craigbegg 8n pt. Craigbegg 4, 8n pts. Culfoichbegg
[10 holdings]	[7 holdings]

For over 20 years Sir James had made every effort to stem the tide of emigration. In this he was supported not only at home but also abroad by kinsmen such as his namesake, James Grant the Chief Justice of Jamaica, who complained to him in 1787 'of the folly of young men in flocking from Scotland to this country.'⁽⁵⁸⁾ As far as Strathspey is concerned there are no recordings of large numbers leaving in this way during the 1780s although there is the occasional reference to individuals such as Alexander Grant, a smith in Grantown, who left for Quebec in 1785 and James Wright and John Macdonald, also from Grantown both of whom emigrated to America.⁽⁵⁹⁾

The Rev. Patrick Grant in 1792 attributed emigration from the parish of Duthil to be the result of 'adventurers going elsewhere' and to the consolidation of farm holdings,⁽⁶⁰⁾ but it is likely that what emigration there was from Strathspey during the 1780s and 1790s was not, on the whole, directed towards the overseas colonies. In the neighbouring parish of Abernethy the Rev. Lewis Grant noted a year later the seasonal migration south during the summer months to work on lowland farms and it is possible that many may have decided to stay in the south at this time rather than return to Strathspey.⁽⁶¹⁾

Walton,⁽¹⁹⁶¹⁾ writing on population changes in north-east Scotland, suggested that the period 1755-1801 was generally marked by a decline in population although local conditions resulted in considerable variation from one parish to another. On improveable land in north-east Buchan, for example, crofters and farmers were able to cultivate waste ground and even after the poor harvests of 1782-83 the population increased, but in the higher western districts years of scarcity were reckoned responsible for emigration, amalgamations and

population decline.

However many people did leave Strathspey at this time what is certain is that the number of holdings temporarily decreased, a process that is largely attributable to three factors, namely, the volatile nature of the livestock market, a series of bad harvests in the 1780s and Sir James Grant's attempts to push up the farm rents too quickly.

Throughout the 1770s the extraction of rent from the tenants had often been a difficult affair. In November 1770 John Grant of Tullochgriban was only hopeful of gathering about £100 in rent as the tenants had very little money and what they had as a result of cattle sales would only be put to paying off arrears.(62) Again in December 1775 the factor was to describe an even worse state of affairs to the estate clerk:

...it is a loss at present that the drovers do not pay up - I never did find such a scarcity of money.(63)

Two years later, after John Grant had retired as estate factor, Sir James Grant was to receive a more heartening letter from his law agent, Colquhoun Grant, stating that 'the good crop and the high prices of cattle I trust will bring in your rent very fast.'(64) For the next four years cattle gained reasonable prices and in 1779 Ludovick Grant could say that the tenants 'appear to be in better circumstances than for some years past.'(65) This situation was not to last long for in the following year the crop harvest was down two-thirds on the 1779 yield with low prices and little demand for cattle compounding the problem. In October 1780 James Macgregor, the factor,

was himself to drive 340 Strathspey cattle to the southern markets in Carlisle and Newcastle only to sell them at 'a very poor price' of £1 14s. 6d. a head.(66)

The 1780s were to prove even more difficult for the tenants of Strathspey. particularly those dependent on small acreages of corn and small numbers of livestock. Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, writing to Sir James Grant in April 1782, pointed out that 'provender was never so scarce or so dear in my day, and I am much affraid of the tenants being ruined.'(67) The situation was alarming but it became even more so in October of that year when the first winter storms arrived early destroying the greater part of the crop which had not yet been harvested.

The immediate response of Sir James Grant was to write to Thomas Mackie, a London grocer, asking about the price of oats, wheat and barley to be shipped to Findhorn as a supply of 'victual' for his tenants about whom he was 'very anxious', explaining that 'the greatest part of their crop is out under the snow.'(68) The Rev. Patrick Grant, writing his parish account nearly ten years later, was to maintain that 'the situation of the parish (Duthil) in 1782 and 1783 was truly distressing. Had it not been for Government bounty, and Sir James Grant's large supplies from distant countries, the poorer class of people would have perished.'(69)

Severe conditions continued and by March 1783 with meal in short supply many families were on the verge of starvation. In petitioning Sir James Grant for a reduction in rent the tenants of Muckrach and Finlarig were typical of many when they pleaded:

...that they are exceedingly oppressed in this distressing year - they find themselves not only unable to pay their rents this year to your Honour's factor, untill their cattle draw money to pay for meal to their different families, because the little money they have among their hands is scarcely sufficient for the purpose of buying seed to sow the ground.(70)

Poor weather and shortage of seed for several years was to make survival difficult and had it not been for the higher prices of cattle at the market in years such as 1784 many more tenants would have abandoned Strathspey farms.(71)

In June 1788 Grigor McGrigor, the tenant farmer in Rynabeallich, appealed to Sir James Grant against being removed for rent in arrears pleading 'that for these seven years by past the seasons and crops have been bad so that your petitioner had seed to buy for sowing the ground and meal also to buy yearly to maintain his family more than half the year' claiming that 'at this present time your petitioner knows not where to go if he is turned out and it will reduce him and family to misery and beggary.'(72) Sir James had a good deal of sympathy for tenants in these circumstances and on this occasion allowed McGrigor to stay on. During the years of dearth in the early 1780s he had imported meal, pease, rye and potatoes, selling them to the tenants as cheaply as possible to help them survive hard times. But even these attempts had not prevented extreme hardship of the kind obviously suffered by Grigor McGrigor and his family.

Many of those who could not pay their rent offered renunciations of their leases, but after a while this became unacceptable to Sir James Grant, particularly with respect to the tenants on his more substantial farms. In response to Lewis Grant's decision to give up his holding in February 1783 Sir James was to write to the factor:

I cannot think of accepting renunciations from every motive of duty and affection I have exerted myself to prevent the bad consequences of this unfavourable and singularly distressing season, I trust in God it will be followed by better times, and I expect you will signify to those who offer renunciations that I cannot accept of them....(73)

The collection of rents had been uppermost in in Sir James Grant's mind for many years even before the death of his father in 1773 had passed on to him the responsibility and worry of heavy debts. In December 1770 he had asked the factor to 'collect as far as real justice will allow from the tenants,'(74) but by June of 1773 his tone is much more desperate and a harder line is adopted in writing to the factor:

As I am at present and for some time past in great want of money owing to my tenants being very backward in the payment of their rents and as I find many of them are in arrear not only for last Martinmas rent but for preceeding terms I therefore insist and desire that you will immediatelt prosecute all such as are in arrear without respect of persons, and particularly those in arrear preceeding Martinmas last.(75)

Wherever possible Sir James Grant was to attempt to increase farm rents during the 1770s, particularly on lands formerly held by wadsetters. The setting of Delnhatnich farm in April of 1774 was to prompt him to write to his factor:

I declared from the first I would set Delnhatnich to the highest offerer - I cannot therefore alter, besides it would be folly not to make those places rise in rent, in such times as these which will give an increased rent and a sufficient tenant.(76)

Tullochgriban, the factor, had never favoured large augmentations of rent and at most had recommended, as in the case of the improvement of Straanchamronich in 1772, that 'the rent may be a little raised.'(77) In the collection of rents during that hard year he was

to show a certain sensitivity and concern for the plight of the tenants in admitting to the estate clerk 'it is true for my own safety I might raise a general hornung against the whole tenants, but if this can be avoided it is better, as such a procedure would be attended with a considerable response and would hurt them, which they have no need of at present.' (78)

James Macgregor, succeeding as factor from crop 1775, was on the other hand in favour of raising rents in order to improve the quality of tenant farming. His views on the setting of lands were included in a letter to Sir James Grant in January 1778:

It probably will be said that I am for raseing the rent of your estate to the utmost in order to ingratiate myself with you - let me assure you that I do not wish that any tenant should pay more than his possession can afford; on the contrary I wish every dilligent farmer to live comfortable and save money but I am averse to giving farms at a low rate to indolent tennants if good ones can be had; the first point I wish to establish is a well paid rent and if good tennants will give a reasonable augmentation for farms I am for taking it but I would not chuse to make use of the offers of bankrupts or people in low circumstances so as to make good substantial tennants come up to them or be dispossess'd...(79)

Two years earlier he had admitted that he, the clerk and Tullochgriban were 'all strangers as to the value of the lands in Strathspey.'(80) Since then he had taken time to look over the farms to be set but the best guide he suggested would be the offers, provided they were made by 'substantial good tennants.' Many of the principal tenants and former wadsetters being closely related to the chief of the clan had been given very favourable leases. Sir James Grant could not allow this situation to continue to his disadvantage, especially since tenant farmers such as Grant of Bulladern had, according to Macgregor, some of his best farms 'tho they paid little or nothing for it,' accusing them of being 'indolent and inattentive.'(81) In a

forceful letter to William Grant of Burnside Sir James Grant's law agent was to request a fair offer for the 19-year lease of Burnside and the Cromdale Mill, pointing out that Sir James did 'not mean that you should be removed from the place of residence of your ancestors, but the situation of his own affairs do not admit of acts of generosity, which otherwise he would be willing to bestow on his friends.' (82)

Alexander Grant, the brother of the recently deceased John Grant of Tullochgriban appealed to Sir James' sense of kinship in making an unacceptably low offer of £60 for the lands of Tullochgriban in February 1780. Sir James Grant replied directly to him explaining that he was in no position to grant favours as had been done previously:

Your brother was perfectly sensible he had these lands much below what they would give, not to say, that I sunk a great deal of money upon them for his satisfaction and accommodation, in reward for long and faithfull service. You are his brother, and a son of old Tullochgriban, I therefore would prefer you to all others, but then you are in no need of favour in a pecuniary way, nor am I in a situation in point of circumstances that would justify the giving it. (83)

Although the lands of Tullochgriban were valued at £84 he was willing to set them to Alexander Grant if he were to offer £74, an offer that was finally agreed to on 5th May, 1780. Similarly, Sir James Grant was to press another principal tenant, James Grant of Ballintomb, in 1786, urging that 'you must give a higher rent and you must inclose.' (84) It is clear that by pushing up the rent in this way even some of the principal tacksmen were prepared to leave the estate. One such was William Grant in Dellichaple who was considering a renunciation of his lease in 1786. Again Sir James Grant wrote to

him directly desiring him to stay on the estate, but firmly requested a fair offer on renewal of his lease.(85)

During the year 1781 sixty possessions were set to tenants, raising in the process the rent from these farms by some £176, from £637 to £813, an increase of nearly 28%. The augmentation of rent on some farms had been a sharp one as on the 3 auchtenparts of Docharn held by Lt. John Grant. There the rent had been almost doubled in 1771, rising from £7 17s. 10d. to £14 18s. 4d., augmented in 1781 to a figure of £20 16s. 4d. and then again in 1786 it was further raised to £22 10s. 8d., nearly three times what it had been 20 years earlier. It was perhaps increases of this kind that had prompted the Rev. Patrick Grant to describe the augmentation of rent as oppressive in his statistical account of Duthil written in 1792.(86)

As early as 1768 there was criticism of Sir James Grant for raising farm rents when Robert Grant, a London merchant, commented in a letter to Col. James Grant of Ballindalloch that 'he triples the rents as the leases expire and sets no more to one man than he can labour, which is hard upon the Strathspey Gentlemen as he does not allow them to have cotters under them. These he is endeavouring to settle in villages as in England.'(87) His support of the principal tacksmen continued in 1770 when he wrote again to Sir James Grant of Ballindalloch accusing James Grant of Grant of being 'so bad a chieftain that he will soon extirpate that race of people that some time ago passed by the name of Strathspey Gentlemen.'(88) When it came to the years of dearth in the 1780s the Strathspey 'Gentlemen' were still there but many of those less well off had abandoned their

farms to those who could pay a higher rent.

Grantown-on-Spey.

Central to Sir James Grant's policy of improvement in Strathspey was the creation of a planned village at the heart of his estate less than a mile from Castle Grant. The primary object of laying down a 'key' village was to establish industry which would generate wealth and prosperity in the way later described by Adam Smith (1776) who was to describe the processes of centralization and division of labour as he observed them developing throughout Britain. In his view 'the increase and riches of commercial and manufacturing towns' could contribute to 'the improvement and cultivation' of the surrounding country in three ways. First, by providing a market for rural produce, secondly, by reinvestment of capital in agricultural improvement and thirdly, by the establishment of stability and security as a result of 'order and good government.'

In the Scottish Highlands the last of these three points was of great importance. Two previous attempts to establish a town in Strathspey during the 17th century had met with failure, partly because of the general lack of sufficient law and order at that time. A charter of 1609 enabled the Laird of Grant to extend the Kirktown of Cromdale where the people were 'rude and barbarous and wanting civility and good manners,' and by creating a burgh of barony the inhabitants would become 'richer and more civilised' and at the same time 'great thefts, robberies and oppressions formerly perpetrated in these bounds' would be repressed. The people of Cromdale decided to

remain 'rude and Barbarous' and the proposed scheme never became a reality. Similarly, in 1694 the erection of the Castletown of Castle Grant into a free burgh of regality proved unsuccessful as a means of creating a commercial and manufacturing centre although it did lay the foundations for future plans. (89)

By the 1760s law and order had been well established in Strathspey and the founding of a village could at last be considered a practical enterprise. To Sir Ludovick and his son the laying down of a planned village was seen not only as an economic necessity but also as being complementary to the development of the agricultural sector. Where the plan differed from the theoretical model of Adam Smith was in the incomplete division of labour between manufacturing and agricultural activity. This is reflected in the original plan of the new town of Grantown with its regular pattern of lots measuring 21 yards by 200 yards, large enough to grow a small quantity of food and graze at least 2 or 3 beasts. The need for the tenementers to grow at least part of their own food and the increase in the size of Grantown feus even before they were advertised is seen by Grant(1978) as an admission of failure on the part of the landowner. Extended lotting was nevertheless a realistic approach providing an important safety net not only for incomers uncertain of the economic potential of the area but also for the local cottars and tenants unsure of the complete transition from agriculture to manufacture or trade.

Although the primary function of the new town was to provide a manufacturing base utilising raw materials from the surrounding countryside its role as a marketing centre was to be equally as

important. In addition, Fraser(1883) suggests that in the true spirit of the enlightenment Sir James hoped that concentrating people in an urban setting would lead to 'improved manners and a higher civilization.' Whatever the function of the new town, Grantown was at the end of the day designed with its central market square to be a show piece enhancing the prestige of Sir James Grant of Grant who immortalised the occasion by having his portrait painted village plan in hand.

In this Sir James Grant was not alone. Many new villages appeared in the Scottish landscape during the 18th century for the purpose of accommodating estate workers, tradesmen and manufacturers, or simply for the convenient settlement of tenant farmers displaced from their farming township. Lockhart,(1978) reviewing the development of over 150 planned villages in Aberdeenshire between 1750 and 1850 laid emphasis on the displacement of tenants in this way as enclosure of openfields proceeded between 1750 and 1770. The further displacement of tenants, this time from sheep walks and the consequent establishment of clearance villages was seen as a later development during the period 1800-1820. Sir James Grant had certainly been influenced by his fellow land owners in the north-east, but Grantown was in no way a clearance village resulting from agricultural reorganisation. In Strathspey the founding of the new village preceded population increase and with the hill improvement scheme it was designed to be a magnet attracting people onto the estate.

In the spring of 1763 James Grant of Grant had advertised in the Aberdeen Journal to encourage the settlement of his hill improvements in Strathspey. Two years later on 15 April, 1765 he again used the

same newspaper to promote his new town of Grantown, offering lots to manufacturers and tradesmen on favourable terms. Rents were to be paid incrementally and leases were to extend for 90 years with an initial five-year rent free period. As an additional incentive to tradesmen and manufacturers markets were to be held custom free and prizes were to be offered for the best yarn, stockings, woollen clothes and linen etc.(90)

Within 3 years markets that had formerly been held on different parts of the estate were centralised in the new town with 6 annual markets and a weekly market being established (Appendix XX) following the success in June 1766 of the first market which had been described as the 'greatest ever known in that county or in any part of the Highlands.'(91) For the marketing function Grantown was ideally located at the centre of the estate with good access by road in all directions, but as the Rev. Lewis Grant pointed out at a later date its location had other advantages. With the diversion of the Kylintra Burn an ample supply of water was available and the moor ground closeby was not only improveable but also a source of fuel in the form of peat which when also burnt provided ash that could be mixed with lime to 'make good manure for potatoes, greens and Cabbages.'(92)

After a promising start the development of Grantown was perhaps not all that Sir James Grant would have hoped for. Alexander Taylor's plan of the new town of Grantown drawn in 1768 delineates 82 intended lots, but only 17 of these included buildings as a sign of occupancy.(93) By the time George Brown had completed his plan of Grantown over 40 years later in 1809 76 lots had been occupied.(94)

Table 3.5 indicates the gradual increase in the number of feu holdings recorded in the estate rentals between 1768 and 1835, but though these figures give some impression of the slow progress of development, they do not reflect the true population of the town. The OSA of Cromdale (95) gives the population in the 1790s as lying somewhere between 300 and 400 people, but a more accurate figure was noted by William Grant in 1801 for the first census when he recorded 435 individuals occupying 61 houses. Of these individuals 64 were employed chiefly in agriculture and 65 chiefly in trade, manufacture and handicrafts, a relatively small number compared with the majority who were probably then employed as day labourers.(96) By the time the Rev. James Grant had written his statistical account of Cromdale Parish in the 1840s the population had more than doubled to 954 although holdings were only just in excess of 110.(97)

Table 3.5

Grantown Feu Holdings, 1778-1835.

1778	9
1786	31
1795	49
1806	72
1817	99
1835	120

James Grant of Grant and his father had spent an estimated £5,000 on the establishment of Grantown and had done everything in their power to encourage textile manufacturers to settle there. The money had been spent on building a town house and jail, diverting the water supply and building and equipping 'advance factories' such as the linen manufacturing houses with associated bleachfields. In this way it was hoped to attract trade and manufacturing industry. Subsidies were offered and although private dwellings were to be built by the

incoming tenementers key workmen such as John Grant, a weaver from Rothiemurchus, were occasionally offered houses as an additional incentive.(98)

The response was poor and not even the heavily subsidised introduction in 1775 of an English woollen manufacturer named Thomas Cornish could instill local enthusiasm for manufacturing. Within a few years the experienced Cornish could only write to Sir James Grant explaining that 'I have done everything in my power to make it answer but find it absolutely impossible, and if I am to continue it must be my inevitable ruin.'(99) In 1785 Mrs. Grant of Laggan, writing to a friend in Glasgow, commented that 'the father of the district has been cherishing some exotic manufactures which do not seem to find the soil congenial.' Two years earlier a list of tenementers in Grantown had included only a thin catalogue of tradesmen and manufacturers including 4 merchants, 1 baker, 1 wheelwright, 2 wrights, 3 masons, 1 linen manufacturer and 1 stocking manufacturer.(100) Some years later in 1792 even Sir James was to admit in a draft memorial to the Highland Society that Grantown's industries were not carried on so vigorously as formerly.(101)

There were several reasons for the failure of manufacturing development in Grantown during the latter half of the 18th century. Duncan Grant, importer of yarn, was the first to point out to Sir James that the woollen industry was unlikely to flourish since wool was already imported into Strathspey. At the same time he suggested that weaving was 'thought so despicable a trade in the Highlands that...no person of genius or spirit would enter into it or be

allowed to enter into it by his parents.'(102) Highland yarn was also generally reckoned to be too coarse for the finer clothes in demand in the major cities - markets that were then any way too distant from Strathspey to make industry cost effective in that area. Eventually, the growth of textile factories in industrial towns further south was to check what little home industry there was in remote towns such as Grantown and by 1860 no textile manufactures existed there.

The fact that Grantown did survive owes much to its function as an agricultural service centre rather than a manufacturing town. This function has remained throughout the 19th and 20th centuries an important factor, but much of the appearance of the place is related to its development as a tourist centre after the arrival of the railway in the 1860s. The grand facade of hotels such as the Grant Arms with its mock baronial style reflects the demand from a growing, high-income, industrial middle class aspiring to be highland lairds for at least a few weeks of the year whilst on holiday in Grantown.

Reduction of Tack.

The last of the wadset lands had been redeemed in 1780 and as has been shown many of the former wadsetters were able to retain much of their old possessions under long lease. Others, however, had their holdings partially reduced after redemption, contributing to the increase in holding numbers recorded in the estate rental during the 1770s. The 12 auchtenparts of Congash, for example, formerly wadset to William Grant were redeemed in 1771 and in the process were reduced to five leases as shown in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7

Tenancy Diagram
Reduction of Wadset Lands
Congash

12, 8n pts. Congash	6, 8n pts. Congash	1771-90
Wadset redeemed 1771	2, 8n pts. Belnatua	1771-86
	8n pt. Topperfettle	1771-86
	8n pt. Inchnabrock	1771-86
	2, 8n pts. Ballinluig	1771-86

wadset → reduced tack

In 1776 James Macgregor, the Strathspey factor, had noted the advantages of breaking up large tacks to accommodate more tenants when he suggested that the wadset lands of Lurg be reduced on redemption, but despite his advice the lands of Lurg were not to be reduced until the 1790s when the post-redemption lease reached the end of its term. Wishing to gain complete control over all the holdings on the estate Sir James Grant rather belatedly began to reduce the larger tacks as they expired. At last he was able to act upon the advice given by William Lorimer who had suggested nearly 40 years earlier in 1763:

In general if a farm is so large as to allow subtenants, I should think it better the master made those his own tenants and make them hold of himself alone - by which means he has more profit and the poor people are preserv'd from oppression.(103)

With the resetting of farms in 1795-6 there began the process of reducing the larger tacks that contained subtenancies and cottar holdings thus increasing the number of holdings recorded in the estate rent books. In 1812, for example, A list of cottars to be put in rental at 5s. rent added 15 tenancies to the rental of 4½ davoch lands on the estate.(104) In the Barony of Cromdale the estate rental gives

no information about the subtenancies on the 6 auchtenparts of Burnside from which a rent of £55 7s. was due, but a separate note reveals that in 1784 Colquhoun Grant received a total rent of £34 7s. 6d. from 15 subtenants occupying 3½ auchtenparts of land.(105) By 1806(106) this large tack had been reduced, and there is a jump from 17 holdings recorded in the 1795(107) rental to a figure of 31, including Burnside and 9 former subtenancies.

A tenancy diagram of the davochs of East and West Tulloch in Abernethy Parish (Fig.3.8) illustrates the process of change from redemption of wadset and partial reduction of tack in 1776 through consolidation in the 1780s to a complete reduction of tack by 1817.

Joint Tenancies.

In Strathspey, where the pattern of landholding was generally in the form of individually occupied farms rather than crofting townships, joint tenancies were the exception rather than the rule during the latter half of the 18th century. In a joint tenure members of a farm holding or within a township worked their land in common under a single lease or multiple lease, the former being more common in Strathspey where joint tenancy did exist. On the auchtenpart of Toremore near Cromdale Alexander McKinlayson and Alexander Stewart held in 1760 two separate 15 year leases for the same holding each paying £30 Scots rent yearly.(108) Not far away at Aldbreck Donald Geddes, David Blair and John Gow held a joint 19 year lease paying 'mutually and jointly' £9 Scots and 3 hens rent each yearly.(109)

Figure 3.8

Tenancy Diagram
Davochs of East and West Tulloch.

1768	1778	1786
8, 8n pts. W.Tulloch (wadset redeemed 1776)	8, 8n pts. W.Tulloch	8, 8n pts. W.Tulloch
7, 8n pts. E.Tulloch (tack)	8n pt. Rynettin	5½, 8n pts. E.Tulloch
	1½, 8n pts. E.Tulloch	1½, 8n pts. E.Tulloch
	8n pt. Auchmore	
	1½, 8n pts. E.Tulloch	
	1½, 8n pts. E.Tulloch	
	1½, 8n pts. E.Tulloch	

wadset redeemed → reduction of tack → consolidation

1806
3½, 8n pts. Mains of Tulloch
8n pt. Clashtellach
½, 8n pt. Tomcaultin
8n pt. Crofts of W. Tulloch
½, 8n pt. Delbog
8n pt. Rychallich
½, 8n pt. Ruinuie & Rynecan
½, 8n pt. Delbog
1½, 8n pts. E. Tulloch
1½, 8n pts. E. Tulloch
2, 8n pts. E. Tulloch
2, 8n pts. Tonteerie
Doir Improvement

→ reduction of tack

In 1778 26 farms, representing just under 9% of the agricultural holdings of Strathspey, (Table 3.6) were held under joint tenure - a relatively small figure but one that conforms to the pattern of settlement already described. Here the population was not densely settled in runrig townships as in many a highland glen and the need to share limited resources was not yet so great.

Table 3.6

Strathspey Estate
Joint Tenancies, 1778-1870.

	<u>Joint Tenancies</u>	<u>% of Agric. Holdings</u>
1778	26	8.7
1786	28	11.9
1795	50	17.3
1817	78	19.2
1835	75	17.2
1855	24	5.4
1870	5	1.0

By the turn of the century the picture was, however, gradually to change. James Robertson, (1808) describing the view between Castle Grant and Aviemore was to note diversity in the pattern of land holding:

In some places, the ancient mode of occupying the ground remains in full force; cottagers crowded into hamlets, the farmers living in clusters, all in one place; their land open and in alternate ridges. But in other places the land is enclosed, and a neat steading set down for a substantial tenant, and where the people are less affluent, the ground is divided into separate lots of fewer or more acres, according to the ability of the occupant, where every tenant is set down upon his own lot...(110)

The ancient mode of occupying the ground may have been of more recent origin than Robertson imagined since, within the space of 30 years, the number of joint tenancies had doubled. This increase continued into the second decade of the 19th century reaching a peak figure of 78 about 1817, just under 20% of the agricultural holdings. By 1870 joint tenancies had all but disappeared with evidence of only 5 remaining in the estate rent books.

The traditional runrig system of arable organisation associated with joint tenancy townships was recorded in the 1840s by Somers not

far off to the south-west in Glen Spean where the tenants lived together in 'small hamlets, containing ten or a dozen families each, who occupy the soil in common, and rear and divide its produce on principles which seek to harmonise individual rights with a common interest.'(111)

For Strathspey there is a mere handful of references to the existence of runrig which did occasionally operate amongst cottars and subtenants, all be it on a small scale. George Taylor's bound volume of plans of the lands of Abernethy (1773) only mentions runrig in relation to the crofts of E. Tulloch where 50 Scots acres of arable land were held by 'sundries in runridge.'(112) Robertson's view of land lying open 'in alternate ridges' is not borne out by George Brown the land surveyor who, about the same time, only made a note of runrig in his plan of Delnabo on the distant border with Strathavon where arable land was held 'by 3 tenants in Runridge.'(113)

What little runrig there was managed to survive for a considerable time and may even have increased in conjunction with the increase in joint tenancies. That it did survive to a limited degree well into the 19th century is evident from two letters in the estate correspondence. In 1839 John Grant, the factor, corresponding with the Seafield Estate cashier at Cullen made mention of 'the McGrigors who all along possessed the other half of cottartown by way of what is called run ridge which never Answers & invariably is a bar to Farming being carried on as interfering with each other.'(114) Finally, as late as 1867, George Mackay, the land surveyor, described the presence of runrig in his report on the Strathspey farms noting that at Carr

'there are three tenants here and the lands are held on the old runrig system.'(115) These, the final remnants of runrig were quickly reorganised into two discrete farm holdings.

The increase in joint tenancies between 1780s and 1820s seems to contradict the general conception of a reduction in the numbers of joint tenancies and the disappearance of runrig during the Agricultural Revolution. In Strathspey, however, the beginning of an increase in joint tenancies coincides with the beginning of the process of holding consolidation and is most likely to have been the result of a response by tenants who were faced with economic hardship and increasing rents which they could not now afford unless occupancy was shared. In many cases the sharing was with close relatives who would join together under one lease rather than leave Strathspey. Often these relationships are mentioned in the rentals as, for example, in the case of the auchtenpart of Achnarrowbeg held in 1778 by George Grant but 8 years later recorded as being in the hands of Donald, Peter, Robert and John Grant. The subsequent division of holdings by the estate management was simply a formal extension of this process designed to keep people on the estate and stem the possible flow of emigrants from Strathspey.

Division of Holdings.

If there had been a decrease in population during the 1780s and 1790s that trend had certainly not been reversed by the first decade of the 1800s even though an increase in total agricultural holdings in the order of 44% would suggest that a dramatic rise had taken place. The census figures for 1801 and 1811 indicate a continued decline in

population for Cromdale Parish and for Duthil and Abernethy Parishes a marginal intercensal increase.(Table 3.4) There must therefore, be some other explanation since rapid population growth is not yet apparent.

Reduction of Tacks, largely beginning in the 1790s, has been shown to have contributed towards the increase in croft and small farm numbers in the rental books but this does not reflect a real increase in holding numbers on the ground. The estate correspondence reveals that at the same time there had been a change from consolidation to a process of division at each new setting of farms. The 4 Clachaig holdings in the rental of the davochs of Lurg and Clachaig in 1795 were, for example, divided into 8 farms by 1811 with an overall increase in rent of nearly 25% from £60 12s. 11d. to £75 4s. 6d. Two years earlier Robert Lawson, the factor, wrote to Sir James Grant describing how he had 'divided the lands of Lurg and Aillen into five different farms and Saturday divided the lands of Easter Finlarig into three farms.'(116)

It is clear that despite the relative failure of his hill improvement scheme in the 1770s Sir James was still an 'improver' at heart to the end of his days. Writing to the factor in 1808 he suggested that the farm of Gorton 'might be turned to beneficial account by dividing in parcels from that to Achosnich, in sets for the improvement and accommodating of the inhabitants of Grantown and yield a greater rent.'(117) The division of Gorton, he thought, would provide adequate farms for two or three families. He was optimistic in thinking that the farm of Gaich a mile or so to the west could be divided into four holdings much against the advice of George Brown the land surveyor who politely suggested that the farm 'might have made

two tolerable places, but not easie to divide it into four.' Nevertheless, he divided the farm 'with the greatest care and attention' in the autumn of 1810.(118)

As Colonel of the Strathspey Fencibles there was still something of the old style highland chief about Sir James Grant. The maintenance of a substantial population on his estate remained of importance not only as means of improving the land but also as a source of manpower for the local militia that was to give him the prestige that was neatly captured in a caricature by the Edinburgh artist, John Kay. In many ways the early years of the 1800s had been as difficult as the 1780s, even though cattle prices on the whole had increased. the years 1800 and 1807 were particularly bad and relief measures were again necessary. In the winter and autumn of 1801, for example, 2,400 bolls of meal were delivered to Grantown for the people of Strathspey, and in November 1807 George Brown warned Sir James Grant that 'the country every where I have been, the crop is in a most deplorable state, besides the general difficiency of the potato crop, is completely spoiled by the rains.'(119) The summer months of 1795-1800 and 1808-1812 were especially wet, but as a result of the 1782 dearth Sir James had gained sufficient experience in subsidising his tenants with the speedy import of grain which he sold either on credit or at a small loss. It had become customary by then for the factor to write a report on the state of the crop in readiness for any relief measures that might be necessary.(Appendix XXI)

By dividing farm holdings Sir James Grant hoped to prevent emigration from Strathspey but this time his policy was based not on

the settlement of the open hills but on crofting allotments mostly located on low-lying ground at the heart of the estate or at convenient nodal positions on the major road system.

The 1801 census indicates that out of a total of 927 people, both male and female, in Abernethy Parish 598 were employed in agriculture. Of the remainder 30 are classified as tradesmen or manufacturers. Since the division of holdings does not yet seem to be a response to increasing population it seems likely that rather than leave the estate many of those in the category of 'other occupations' were being offered small agricultural holdings to keep them on the estate. This situation is illustrated in 1806 by the example of Charles Stuart, a former Strathspey Fencible, then living in Bruntlands of Cromdale. He petitioned Sir James Grant:

...that he is now a poor cottager in the employment of a day labourer and that he finds his daily earnings inadequate for the support of his family. That from this consideration he now presumes to request of your Honour a preference to the farm of Delriach in the parish of Cromdale, his offer for which will be equal to the highest given.(120)

In response to this kind of petition Sir James Grant tried to maintain the existing population as best he could. He was aided in this by George Brown whom he asked in 1807 at the next setting of farms not only to make 'such divisions as will be consistent with the number of the tenants now upon the estate' but also to mark out 'convenient lots to those who cannot be accommodated with, or are not able to be tennants of the arranged farms.'(121)

Apart from the establishment of the village of Grantown in 1765 the settlement of allotments for a handy supply of day labourers had taken place on at least 2 occasions as early as the 1760s at Kylintra

and Cottartown of Castle Grant. At Kylintra six 8 acre lots of arable land were divided out and set to crofting tenants with strict instructions as to crop rotations,(122) whilst at Cottartown improveable moor ground was to be broken in by new tenants (123) again with strict conditions of occupancy (Appendix XXII) By 1795 Kylintra had been divided into 22 lots and Cottartown 12 lots. It was in fact during the 1790s that Sir James Grant had decided to accommodate tenants by setting them on allotments rather than on the open hill. But the successful laying out of these sites depended on the skills of the land surveyor. In 1796 Sir James was anxious that George Brown should turn up to 'lot out the whole moor of Curr for improvable tenements'(124) and 2 years later he again wrote on the subject to James Grant, the factor:

As to the lands of Cromdale I am resolved to set those running down from the town of Cromdale to the river in lots and gardens for houses and settlers in decent order and the upper side in the same manner as far as they will admit of it....if Mr. Brown or a surveyor from him goes up which I have requested by letter - thus the moor ground at Wester Port, the moor ground at the Port adjoining to Mr. Grant and the intended village above Lettoch may be all lined out.(125)

In 1807, the same year that George Brown had been instructed to mark out lots and divide farms, Alexander Cumming, the woodmanager at Docharn, was to write to the Strathspey factor informing him that 'there are many people speaking to me about leave to build houses on the Delrachnybegg part of the Bog Roy.' He suggested 'that a little village would answer well at or about the Bridge of Carr' commenting that 'these poor devils must be somewhere.'(126) A year later a plan had been prepared for an 'intended village at the Bridge of Carr' with proposals to set down 42 tenements 24 falls in size and 34 lots from

0.5 to 1.5 acres in size.(Appendix XXIII) By 1811, however, only 7 tenancies at Carrbridge are recorded in the rental book.

Between 1795 and 1811 the number of recorded allotment holdings almost doubled from 83 to 155, the number of allotment villages rising from 3 to 14 in the same period.(Table 3.7) With the rise in population after the end of the Napoleonic War these allotment villages were to expand rapidly, providing settlement for estate labourers especially those working in the growing forestry sector.

Table3.7

Strathspey Estate

Allotments

	<u>Number of holdings</u>			
	1795	1804	1811	1831
Anagach		11	9	9
Cottartown of C.Grant	12	8	7	6
Grantown	49	67	73	96
Kylintra	22	13	6	7
Cairnluicht		5	3	6
Lynmacgregor		6	9	11
Curr		11	14	10
Inverlaidnan		6		
Foregin			4	4
Carr			7	12
Bogroy			8	10
Blairgorm			3	10
Causar			2	8
Feavoit			5	6
Feabuie			5	5
Nethy Bridge				6
Sliechmore				4
total:	83	117	155	210

As a means of accommodating an expanding crofting tenantry all of whom were now holding leases directly from the estate the allotment

system proved to be a greater success than the hill improvement scheme, and although some ill-placed settlements such as Sleichmore never took off the remainder formed the nuclei for a pattern of villages that was to develop into a network of agricultural service centres. Nethy Bridge, Carrbridge, Sky of Curr are three examples of present day villages whose origins largely date from this period. (Fig.3.9)

Strathspey Estate Allotment Settlements, 1811.

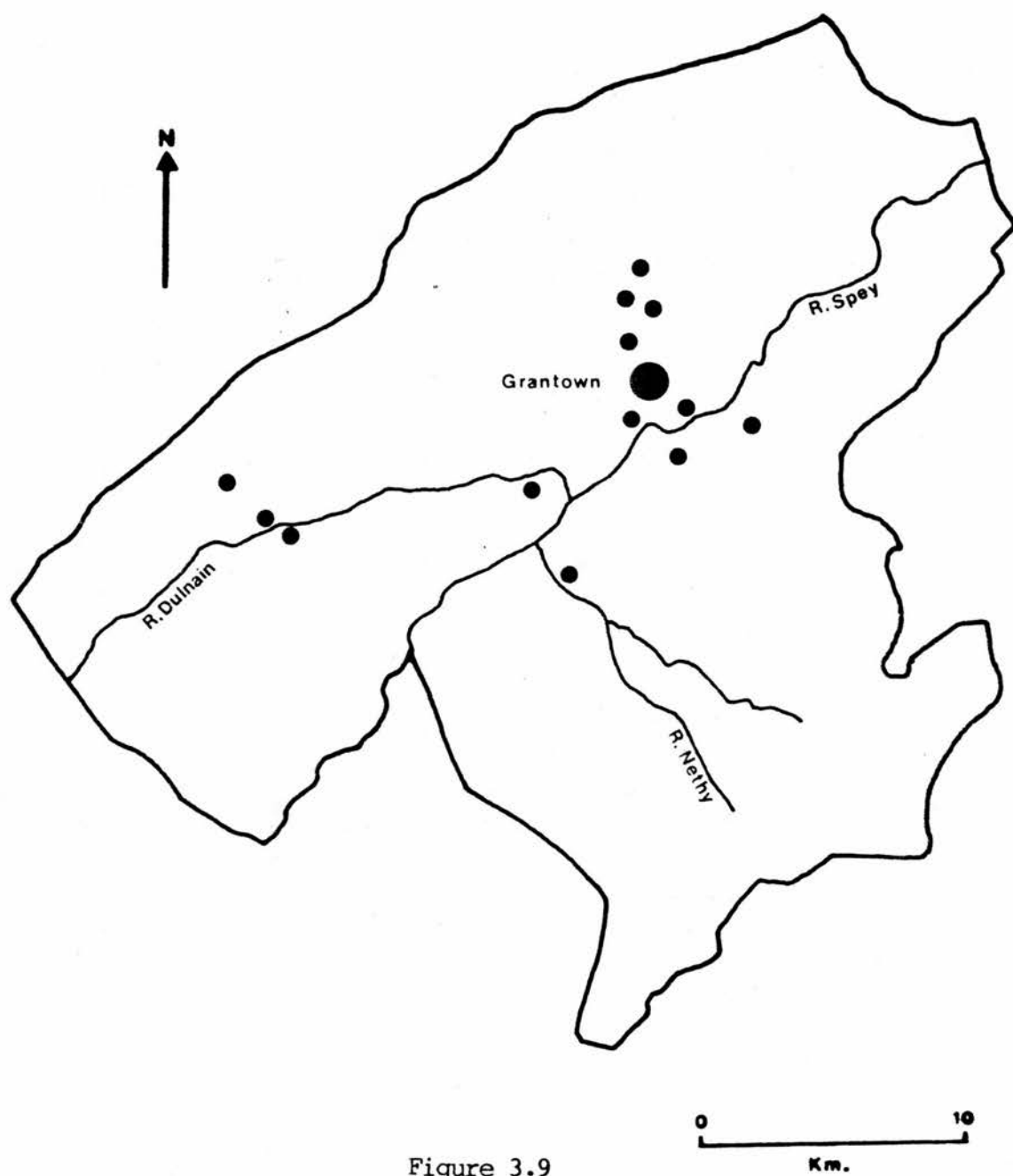


Figure 3.9

Chapter 4.

Agricultural Land Use, 1750-1811.

Introduction.

That Sir James Grant started out with a great vision of a transformed agricultural landscape in Strathspey there is no doubt, but by the end of his life, despite all the exertions that earned him a reputation as a great improver the result seemed far from dramatic. The land use figures extracted from the surveys of George Brown during the last decade of Sir James' life show the reality of the situation.(Table 4.1)

Table 4.1

Strathspey Estate: Land Use, 1804-13.

	Scots Acres		Wood/ Pasture.	Wood	Total
	Arable	Pasture			
Abernethy	2,2524	38,919	1,061	5,928	48,382
Cromdale	3,716	40,673		1,689	46,080
Duthil	4,056	32,710	3,583	5,584	45,936
Kirkmichael	132	2,770			2,902
Total:	10,430	115,074	4,645	13,203	143,302
%	7	80	4	9	100

Of the total 143,302 Scots acre(73,698Ha.) estate 80% of the land was still utilised as pasture, the vast majority still being held in common by the tenant farmers. Although division of commonty or common grazings has been seen as a prerequisite to agricultural improvement it was not by then pursued to any extent on the Strathspey Estate where, for example, 31,902 Scots acres(16,406Ha.) of the 48,382 Scots acre(24,882Ha.) parish of Abernethy was held as common grazing as late as 1811. In the same parish an increase in arable land since 1772 of less than 10% and a total percentage of arable land in Strathspey of

78 hardly fulfilled Sir James Grant's dream of extending cultivation right up onto the hills and moors of Strathspey.

Observers such as Wight(1781), Forsyth(1806) and Robertson(1808), however, did note that changes had taken place at the same time pointing out the diversity of the agricultural landscape that ranged from large farms improved in every aspect by drainage, enclosure and the construction of new steadings to smaller farms with turf-roofed houses and unenclosed fields intermixed with woodland and waste ground.

Only part of the picture is therefore revealed by the estate plans of the land surveyors and to understand the nature of agricultural improvement and the sometimes subtle changes in the pattern of land use a closer inspection of the estate documents is essential.

Land Measure.

The land denominations used in Strathspey until the late 19th century were of ancient origin. The terms davoch, aughten or eighteenpart and oxgate were common units of landholding used during the 18th century in the estate rentals whilst in the farm leases there is the occasional reference to ploughlands and firloft or boll seed rates. These denominations, however, were not accurate numerical measurements of areal extent but were estimates of the amount of land required to support a farming unit.

As an agricultural unit the davoch or dauch has been interpreted

by McKerral(1948) as an early estimate of the arable extent of rural townships, the basis of assessing not only land value but also the number of followers that a Highland chieftain could expect to raise. Thomas(1885) quotes Gordon of Straloch to the effect that in Aberdeenshire the davoch contained as much land as could be broken up by four ploughs in one year, but 'that then owing to more land having been cleared of wood the arable in a davoch was more than doubled' and by 1800 a davoch of ordinary extent required at least three times the number of cattle to labour it. The extent of a davoch in one area could therefore not be assumed to equal the extent of a davoch in another.

By the 18th century the arable holdings of Strathspey had been divided up into davochs whose true meaning essentially had been lost as William Lorimer suggested when he described the davoch as 'an undetermined quantity of land.'(1) Even on the same estate the arable extent of davochs was by then not comparable. George Brown's estate survey during the first decade of the 19th century, for example, shows the neighbouring davochs of Curr and Tullochgorm in Cromdale Parish with vastly differing quantities of arable land, the former comprising 183 Scots acres(94Ha.) of arable and the latter 300 Scots acres(154Ha.).(2) The differences in total rental value were also considerable in 1795 at £68 0s. 8d. for the davoch of Curr and £104 6s. 6d. for the davoch of Tullochgorm.(3) In this example there is a further disparity in that Curr is divided into 8 aughtenparts whereas Tullochgorm contains 9½ aughtenparts. Originally, it was usual for the davoch to be divided into 8 aughtenparts or eighth parts but with the extension of cultivated land adjustments were made either by

moving a holding from one davoch to another or by increasing the number of auchtenparts per davoch. The Rental of Strathspey for 1769 shows the variation by that date in the number of auchtenparts per davoch ranging from 5 in the case of Achnarrowmore to 12 in the case of Tullochgorm.(4) Table 4.2 shows the range in the number of auchtenparts per davoch in the parish of Cromdale in 1769 and how the relationship had changed in some instances by 1795.

Table 4.2

Auchtenparts per davoch, Cromdale Parish:

Strathspey Estate, 1769 and 1795.

<u>Davoch</u>	<u>Number of 8n parts</u>	
	1769	1795
Achnarrowmore	5	8
Gaich	6½	7½
Culfoichmore	7	8½
Dreggie	7	7
Curr	8	8
Glenbegg	8	8½
Ballintomb	8	9
Delliefure	8	8
E. Skiradvie	8	8
W. Skiradvie	8	8
Achnarrowbeg	8½	8½
Achnahannet	9	8½
Dalvey	9½	13
Tulchan	10	10
Tullochgorm	12	9½
Rynaballoch	12	-
Barony of Cromdale	18½	31

Source: GD 248/1901
GD 248/2897

The equation for some denominations, however, never varied. As late as 1783 ploughlands are mentioned in estate leases, George Grant of Leastown, for example, taking possession of 'four pleughlands being eight auchtenparts of land of the davoch of Clurie' - a relationship

of four ploughlands per davoch which never seemed to vary in Strathspey.(5)

Auchten or eighteen parts were seldom comparable themselves in terms of arable acreage, total holding acreage or rental value as is indicated by a comparison of 8 auchtenparts in the parish of Abernethy in 1772.(Table 4.3)

Table 4.3

Variation in the Rental Value, Arable Acreage and Total Acreage in Abernethy Parish, 1772.

<u>8n part</u>	<u>Rent</u>			<u>Arable Acreage</u>	<u>Total Acreage</u>
	£	s	d	a. r.f.	a. r.f.
Toberai	5	11	1	11.3.08	21.2.23
Revack	6	2	2	21.3.19	61.0.00
Bacharn	6	1	1	17.2.20	50.0.11
Topperfettle		5		10.0.00	17.1.07
Inshbrock		5		17.0.27	21.2.21
Croftnahaven	1	0	0	29.1.35	42.0.09
Tandhu		5		22.3.08	33.3.16
Torranbrock		10		19.2.21	34.2.31

Sources: GD 248/248
RHP 3964

The auchtenpart was further divided into four oxgates, an equation which never seemed to vary in Strathspey although the extent of individual oxgates or oxgangs did. Lorimer again described the oxgate as 'an undetermined quantity of land' but noted that Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk reckoned it was the equivalent of 2½ acres or 'as much as a yoke of oxen can labour.'(6) The survey of George Taylor in the 1770s shows that in Abernethy Parish the variation in soil quality had created a corresponding variation in oxgate size which ranged from just over 1 Scots acre to nearly 6 Scots acres.(Table 4.4)

Table 4.4

Extent of Oxgates in the Parish of Abernethy, 1772.

<u>Oxgate</u>	<u>Scots Acres</u>
<u>Davoch of Lurg</u>	
The Allar Oxgate	1.2.35
The Hard Oxgate	2.0.00
The Gray Stone Oxgate	5.3.00
McComisha-cula's Oxgate	4.0.20
The Kiln Oxgate	2.3.28
Donald Reach's Oxgate	5.1.22
New land	5.1.17
<u>Davoch of Aldcharn</u>	
The Yard Oxgate	5.0.16
<u>Davoch of Bellimore</u>	
The Half Oxgate (Midtown of Glenbrown)	2.2.28
<u>Davoch of E.Tulloch</u>	
The Gray stone Oxgate	2.2.20
<u>Davoch of Congash</u>	
The Oxgate next the town	1.0.35
The Meikle Oxgate	4.2.00
The Midd Oxgate (Inshbrock)	3.1.17

Source: RHP 3964

An alternative means of assessing the quantity of arable land was to use the seed rate for oats measured in bolls or firlots. The petition of Gregor Gregorach in Rynabeallach to Sir James Grant in the early 1770s mentioned that:

You did tack off a small spott called Laggan Begg about a firloft of oats sowing from the Easter Rienabelach and joined it to the Eastmost of the two wester aughtenparts of Rienabelach which auchtenpart I now possess...(7)

Similarly, Patrick Grant, complaining about the augmentation of rents at Glenlochry and Glenbrown was to claim that 'there has not been

two bolls sowing improved in my days on both.'(8)

In the late 1770s the rental books indicate that some of the davoch lands were reorganised for administrative convenience in response to the extension of cultivation and the changes in landholding structure. The rental for crop 1778 illustrates how the davoch lands of Congash in Abernethy had been split into the two davochs of Nether and Upper Congash each with 8 auchtenparts. To make up the quota of 8 auchtenparts for Upper Congash the 2 auchtenparts of Aldcharn had been taken from the davoch of Culnakyle and the 2 auchtenparts of Glenlochy had been transferred from the davoch of Balliemore, joining together adjacent lands to make one large administrative unit. In the davoch of Balliemore the difference was made up by judging 4 out of the 5 crofts of Culriach to be equivalent to 2 auchtenparts of arable land. Similarly, the davoch of Culnakyle was reorganised to incorporate the entire former davoch of Rymore which had contained 5 auchtenparts and 12 small improvements. With the rise in population and the division of holdings during the second decade of the 19th century Rymore reappeared in the rental books as a half davoch with 9 tenant holdings.

The davochs were usually named after the principal farms which were the territorial focal point of each davoch land.(Fig.4.1) The dependent territory of each davoch spread out towards the hill grazing but in many cases the link between arable land and upland sites of improvement is confusing as one davoch appears to cross another. Most probably this is the result of principal tenants, in some cases the factors themselves, manœuvring pieces of new ground into their own tacks.

It was only with the coming of the land surveyor that the areal extent of arable land could be measured accurately thus replacing the need to use the old style land denominations. The davoch and the aughtenpart, however, remained in use as administrative units for over a hundred years after the work of the first of these surveyors had been completed demonstrating their value as a simple means of dividing the estate into convenient groups of farm holdings as a basis for rent collection. The true meaning of the terms had been lost even by Lorimer's day when davochs, aughtenparts and oxgates were all commonly used but reckoned to be of unknown quantities.

The Social Contract.

In advising the young James Grant of Grant prior to his taking over the management of the Strathspey Estate William Lorimer was at great pains to point out the nature and significance of the tack or lease as a form of contract between landlord and tenant.(Appendix XXIV) On this subject he had taken special guidance from Lord Findlater and Lord Deskford (Appendix XXV) and had set down on paper in some detail further 'Observations on Tacks and Leases' in the form of recommendations for the attention of his pupil.(Appendix XXVI)

By manipulating the length of the lease and by the inclusion of 'conditions' and 'irritancies' within the lease the landlord could hope to encourage not only farm improvement but also the conservation of limited resources such as timber and peat. On the one side the lease gave the tenant certain rights including a degree of security for a fixed term of years and on the other it gave the landlord a

greater control over the people and the land on which they lived.

Prior to the 1760s the conditions of the tack had been limited to the usual requirement to pay, in addition to their rents, ministers stipends, schoolmasters salaries, church, manse and schoolhouse repair bills and meal multure at the local meal mill. If at the end of the lease a tenant moved from his farm he was entitled to a payment of meliorations for improvements both to house and land (Appendix XXVII).

Under Sir James Grant the written lease became more specific detailing an increased number of conditions particularly designed to encourage improvement and prevent bad agricultural practice. Patrick Grant's lease of the 8n part of Polcreach, for example, stipulated that one fourth part of the arable should not be laboured during the last 3 years of the lease, all improveable ground should be broken up during the first five years of the tack, one acre of land was to be fallowed annually and one acre sown with turnips, potatoes, pease or lintseed.(Appendix XXVIII) The set pattern of the lease seldom varied and where written leases were given by tenants to subtenants the format was the same except for the obligation by the subtenant to perform the services and pay the custom rents due by the tenant to the laird.(9) Occasionally even more specific instructions were given to individual tenants or subtenants as in the tack granted in January 1790 by Thomas Gordon of Dellachaple to Thomas Stewart, subtenant in Belnafettack, Tominourd, Corryshealach and Druminacoynack in which Stewart was required to 'lay sixteen bolls of lime as a manure on said lands yearly and sow one peck of lintseed therein yearly and

manufacture the produce thereof at the Heretor's Miln of Craggan..' (10)

One major difference between direct tenancy tacks and subtenancy tacks was that in the former periodic augmentations of rent were reckoned more valuable than a grassum payment at the beginning of the period of the lease whilst in the latter grassums were payable by subtenants on entry. In a letter of tack by Janet and James Grant in Dalvey to William Stewart in Mains of Alachie £120 Scots was payable at the commencement of the 14 year lease with a yearly rent of £173 6s. 8d. Scots. (11)

Besides the payment of money rents tenants were also obliged to pay a victual or custom rent and to perform services when required by the laird. Both customs and services could be converted into a money payment at a conversion rate detailed in the Judicial Rental of Strathspey in 1759-60, but it was well into the 19th century before rent came to be paid exclusively in cash. (Table 4.5)

Table 4.5

Conversion of Customs and Services:
Strathspey Estate, 1759-60.

1 Mill swine	9	0	0
1 Boll multure meal	5	6	8
1 Hen		3	0
1 Kid	1	10	0
1 Dozen trout		2	0
One horse carriage yearly	6	0	0
Horse to carry lymestone, etc.	1	10	0
A horse in spring	1	0	0
1 Shearer		12	0
1 Foot carriage	1	10	0

Source: GD 248/248

During the first half of the 18th century many of the custom and service rents had in fact been converted to money payments but with the residence of Sir Ludovick and later Sir James Grant at Castle Grant some customs and services were restored to provide food for the table and labour for estate improvements. A note of the rent of Knockanakeist held in 1778 by Elizabeth Grant includes a sum of £1 for unspecified converted customs but also details the payment of 8 hens and 1 leat peat with the carriage of 64 stone of coal.(12) Lorimer pointed out that Lord Findlater had converted all of his leat peats into money since 'he found they took up a great deal of the tenants' time which may be better employed in tilling their land, and with this money his lordship can buy coals more to his advantage.'(13)

Sir James, however, continued to ask his tenantry for peats although he gave them the option to supply coal from Findhorn at the equivalent of 6 barrels of 16 stones each for every leat peat to be sent to Castle Grant, Culnakyle House or to the lime kiln at Laggan.(14) In 1772 most tenants in the parishes of Abernethy and Cromdale were supplying 20 leat peats or their equivalent and tenants in Inverallen and the wadset lands of Clury were sending nearly 14 leat peats to Laggan. In order to increase the fuel supply for the castle which William Forbes estimated required 60 leats each year those tenants near to Castle Grant not already supplying peats were asked to do so.(15)

In Strathspey custom rents extended to the supply of animal produce including wedders, lambs, goats, poultry, pigs, fish and game birds. For example, in 1760 George Grant of Tullochgorm was to pay

for the small farm of Tirebegg by Lochindorb a rent of £42 Scots, and in addition 'a fat kidd or £1.10 Scots as the conversion thereof with a 12 dozen trouts when the family is at Castle Grant and then if demanded.'(16) With the emphasis on livestock production it is noticeable that apart from multure meal there was no payment in the form of grain or dairy produce as on the low lying Seafield Estates where the Earl of Findlater and Seafield received meal, bear, oats, wheat, butter and eggs amongst a wide range of payments in kind in 1790.(Appendix XXIX)

William Lorimer, noticing that the customs payable on estates 'vary in different places', listed those generally payable on Highland estates mentioning in addition the kain or cane fowls that could be requested by Lady Grant and the reek hens due from 'every house that reeks or smokes on the farm.'(Appendix XXX) His 'prices on conversion of customs' when compared with Table 4.5 show an increase in the rate of conversion between 1760 and 1763, hens rising in value from 3d. to 4d. and mill swine from £9 Scots to £12.(Appendix XXXI) If all the tenants on the estate had paid wedders and hens, each auchtenpart returning 2 wedders and 8 hens, the addition to the rental was computed by Lorimer to be £300. In 1800 a total of 1393 hens were still payable by 247 tenants on the estate although many of the customs and services had been converted to a money payment.

Customs such as trout, kids and swine were of lesser quantity, their supply being from specific locations on the estate. Trout were sent down from the tenants at Limekilns and Tirebeg, kids were grazed on the Dava Moor and swine were supplied from the Strathspey mills

where they were fed on bran, although in 1796 Peter Mackintosh, the miller in Dellifure, claimed that he had 'no swine to pay for the customs nor can he get one in this place.'(17)

The services payable as part of the rent were designed to provide a pool of manpower either seasonally at spring planting and at harvest time or when required for the supply of building materials, fuel or road making. Although the custom rents payable by Robert Grant of Kinveachy had been converted to cash by 1760 he was still required to perform services. His rental records that:

'...he performs 2 carriage horses yearly, but of each auchtenpart or £6 Scots of failzie for each, and 2 horses every three months to carry Limestone, slate or timber or £1 10s. Scots of failzie for each, 2 horses yearly in the spring or £1 Scots of failzie, and 2 shearers yearly in harvest or 12s. Scots for each out of each auchtenpart.(18)

This kind of service could be of considerable inconvenience especially if the tenants were called away from labouring their own farms as in September 1773 when the factor was asked to 'order in the Bindage shearers to cut the barley at Culnakyle without loss of time and any other people he thinks proper to assist.'(19) Lorimer disliked the use of the term bondage or bindage to describe services since it gave an impression of slavery and harked back to the days before the '45 Rising when he believed some landlords were oppressive in exacting services which were largely unspecified in quantity. He advised Sir James Grant that 'a master should be mild in exacting services' if for no other reason than it diverted the tenants from 'a due cultivation of their farms.'(20) This point was further emphasised in June 1765 when the factor wrote to James Grant of Grant to report that since the rainy season had held up peat cutting he was

afraid that:

...there are so many services to do this year that it will not be in the power of the tennents to perform the whole...(21)

This, however, did not dissuade Sir James from using this type of labour when he required it. In 1772 from the Barony of Cromdale and from the remaining 11 davochs in the parish of Cromdale 149 shearers were called out(22) and in the parish of Duthil a list of long carriages detailed those tenants in 65 auchtenparts who were required to transport 1016 stone of coal from Forres.(Appendix XXXII) In all a total of 250 men were reckoned necessary each year 'for shearing, winning hay, casting peats and any other necessary work.'(23)

The payment of custom rents and the performance of services was not evenly distributed throughout the estate although, where a task such as shearing was required it was valued at an equivalent amount in terms of cash conversion and exacted at a specified number of 2 per auchtenpart. Obviously, spring or harvest work at Castle Grant home farm could best be carried out by those tenants near to the heart of the estate, the services of those at a distance being converted to a cash payment or to another form of service such as a long carriage.(24)

William Lorimer was right to point out the uneven distribution of customs and services throughout the estate but what was even more unfair was the variation in the customs and services payable on each farm as a proportion of the total rent. This arose as a result of them being levied by the auchtenpart which was itself of unequal value and extent throughout the estate. In 1786, for example, John Paulach

in the 8n part of Belnatua in Abernethy paid 31% of his rent in the form of customs and services etc. whereas Thomas Leslie in the 8n part of Straan near Tulchan paid only 10% of his rent in this way.(25) The way in which the rent was paid must therefore have been an important consideration for the incoming tenant farmer faced with the need to sell cattle to pay the cash rent as well as to find surplus time and produce for the land owner. By 1819 most of the custom and service rents had been converted to a money payment although hens and wedders were still listed in the rental books as payable on demand. In addition an amount was levied to pay for the construction and maintainance of roads and for the payment of a foxhunter.(26) Many of the tasks formerly undertaken as part of the social contract were then carried out by labourers paid by the estate.

Farming Societies.

The spread of the improving movement in Scotland was to a large extent dependent on practical experiment and the dissemination of information on the success or failure of new farming techniques. This was achieved in the first instance by personal contact amongst land owners, professional men and academics moving in the same intellectual and social circles in London, Edinburgh and eventually Aberdeen. From the early generation of experimental improvers there emerged notable figures such as Lord Kames and Robert Maxwell who were to publish standard text books on husbandry(27) which were to be found on the bookshelves of every landowner claiming to belong to that enlightened 'club' that was in 1720 formalized in Edinburgh as the Honourable Society of Improvers. Described by Smout(1968) as 'a great propoganda effort to spread knowledge of the new farming' it was in

fact a cosmopolitan institution that rapidly transmitted the latest ideas and fashions of the time. Initially, it was a club exclusively composed of the great land owners but during the second half of the 18th century there blossomed from it countless farmers clubs and agricultural societies. These societies were to be found in almost every county and were instrumental in spreading agricultural knowledge even further by bringing smaller gentry and tenant farmers into the recognised circle of improvers.

As early as 1758 agriculture in the north-east had been stimulated by the formation in Aberdeen of a vigorous society, the Gordon Mill Farming Club.(28) This was the forerunner of a number of small societies whose object was to encourage agricultural improvement not only by disseminating practical information but also by offering prizes to farmers for the quantity and quality of their produce.

On 5 April 1787 twelve of the leading tenant farmers in Strathspey 'desirous of improving themselves in agriculture' instituted a farmers' club in Grantown. The idea had not been that of the laird himself but it was stated that 'Sir James Grant approves very much of the scheme and desires he may be named as a member.'(Appendix XXXIII) Sir James had already instigated a competition scheme by offering prizes to tenants in the 1760s. At the Grantown Fair on 13 June 1766, for example, prize money had been handed out by Baillie Duncan Grant of Forres - 5s. to John Stuart in Connage for the best ram and 10s. to John Grant of Tullochgriban for the best bull.(29)

In the same way, Sir James offered premiums of £20 to be

distributed by the Grantown Farmers Club in the 1780s 'for the purpose of encouraging agriculture.' The members of the club were to meet four times annually and at their gathering on 27 april 1787 they decided to give prize money under 5 categories: (1) for the 10 best ploughmen; (2) for the greatest quantity of lint raised on an acre, half acre, quarter acre or eighth of an acre; (3) for the greatest quantity of lime laid on within 4 months on fallow ley or ground sown with turnips or potatoes; (4) for the best field of turnips sown on half to two acres of ground; (5) for the 'greatest quantity of lime that shall be burnt by any person within four months from this date for sale within Sir James Grant's estate and shall be sold or offered to sale four meal firlots to the boll slacked lime at nine pence per boll north side of the Spey and ten pence on the south side.'(30)

It is likely that the Grantown Farmers Club owes its origin to the Elgin Farmers Society whose regulations were sent in 1783 to James Grant, clerk on the Strathspey Estate. The constitution of that society had more or less been penned by the Earl of Fife, himself a leading promoter of improvement in the north-east.(Appendix XXXIV) A few years later, not long after the Grantown club had been established Sir James Grant received an invitation to become a member of the Banffshire Farming Society which was formed in 1788:

...in order to introduce proper rules for carrying friendship and social virtue into practice, and by so doing form regulations of conduct that might promote good plans of agriculture provide proper materials of husbandry - and encourage the breeding of such a species of horse and cattle as was found to answer best with the climate and soil of the country.(31)

The Grantown Farmers Club, founded by the gentlemen farmers of Strathspey was in itself probably a forerunner of the later Badenoch

and Strathspey Farming Society formed under the patronage of the Duchess of Gordon in 1803. This society was primarily an organization of landed gentry, its membership amounting to an impressive array of highland land owners including Archibald Fraser of Lovat, Sir James Grant of Grant, William Mackintosh of Balnespick, J.P. Grant of Rothiemurchus, James Macpherson of Dallville, Col. Duncan Macpherson of Cluny and Lt.-Col. George Gordon of Invertramy. (Appendix XXXV)

At the first meeting of the Badenoch and Strathspey Farming Society at Pitmain on 27 October 1803 regulations were laid down in the same way as earlier societies with an extensive list of premiums on offer to encourage both improved agriculture and industry in the locality. In addition a prize was to be given 'by particular desire of the Duchess of Gordon... to the boy or girl who shall read the Gaelic language best and translate English into Gaelic with the greatest facility.'

In an Appendix to James Robertson's report for the Board of Agriculture on the county of Inverness the Rev. James McLean, minister of Keith, made some observations on the farming methods in the area for the benefit of the society and its members. The major part of his essay was concerned with the importance of a proper crop rotation. Having seen so many fields made sterile by overcropping of oats even after fallow or a green crop he suggested that a premium be offered to tenants laying out arable land in 4, 5 or 6 divisions with one under turnips, one under barley, one or two under oats and the rest in grass - no prizes being offered to those who took two crops of oats after grass or to those who did not lay out the whole year's dung for the

turnips and potatoes. At the end of the day he thought that this would produce more grain, more cattle fodder, cheaper seed and cheaper labour.

On haugh ground by the Spey, where the current practice was to crop oats for 3 years in succession then fallow for 3 years, he suggested the ploughing only of land tathed the year before, taking one crop of oats, harrowing the ground well, and then sowing rye grass with the oats, the rest of the untathed ground to be used for summer grazing. Proper rotation he reckoned would be the easiest way for 'the common tenant' to improve his farm.

In McLean's estimation the small tenants had been deterred from improvement because:

...they have hitherto seen such attempts made only by Gentlemen, who had something else than their farms to depend upon for a living, and often attended with an expense far beyond the ability of persons in their situation, just able to make the two ends meet and no more. They observed, that these gentlemen improvers built houses and dykes, purchased south country horses, expensive harness and implements, cleared away stones, grubbed out brushwood, and drained bogs all which though very good, yet requiring a great deal of money, and not being productive of immediate profit, they justly concluded to be fit only for gentlemen, who either had money to throw away, or could afford to lie out of it.

McLean hoped that the Badenoch and Strathspey Farming Society would point out to the small holder that expensive houses, horses and implements were only the 'pomp and circumstance' of good farming and that:

they may by adapting the rotation which the society will recommend to them, make the whole of their arable land as productive, if not more so, than that part of it on which at present they lay out their dung.(32)

It was in this way that farming societies were able to influence

all levels of rural society to promote not only agricultural improvement but also social and moral improvement in line with the enlightenment of the time.

The Model Farm.

James McLean had been singularly unimpressed by 'expensive houses, horses and implements' but Sir James Grant whose farm at Castle Grant was the epitome of this style saw himself as setting a high standard of agricultural practice and a good example to his tenantry. His 1000-acre farm was a model of good farming not necessarily to be copied in every detail by all his tenants but there, nonetheless, as a showground where new management techniques and the benefits of enclosure, drainage and rotation could be seen.

The expense involved in maintaining the Home Farm can be gauged by a single entry during the spring of 1766 in the Journal of James Grant the Strathspey clerk writing his weekly report to James Grant of Grant. The farm was a hive of activity with barn servants, day labourers, gardeners, masons, dykers and ditchers all busy about the task of improvement.(Appendix XXXVI) At harvest time extra hands were drafted from the tenantry, as for example in 1779 when 293 man days were required between 31 August and 24 September to shear a harvest of 1418 threaves and 6 sheaves at Castle Grant and Kirktown farms.(33)

In the 1780s Wight noted that Sir James had introduced drill husbandry enabling good crops of turnips and potatoes to be grown, the turnips largely being used for feeding cattle whilst the potatoes were

for the 'labouring poor.' The dissemination of ideas on improved husbandry and the willingness to experiment is clearly illustrated in practice here in 1779 when William Forbes, the farm grieve, was 'resolved to follow Lord Kames directions exactly in laying down the field of turnips this year.'(34) On the other hand techniques well tried in other regions were sometimes deemed inappropriate for Strathspey as in the case of Jethro Tull's husbandry which William Lorimer reckoned to be 'too expensive - many people have been ruined by it - A rational husbandry can be carried on at less expence.'(35)

At any one time one quarter of the home farm was under pasture, a rule which he tried to encourage throughout the estate by making it a condition to be included in farm leases.(36) Clover and rye grass intended for hay were, according to Wight, 'neatly laid down, with ridges made equal and straight,' and cropped for two years in succession as part of a rotation that was followed by two years pasture, two years under oats, fallow or a green crop for a year and finally a year under barley before returning to hay. This 8-year rotation continued to be used for some time on the home farm which by 1810 had been divided into 8 lots of 16 to 20 acres in size.(Appendix XXXVII) The range of crops grown at Castle Grant and at his farms at Coulmakyle and West Port was varied as illustrated by an account of seed purchases compiled by William Forbes on 25 May 1785.(Appendix XXXVIII)

Limestone which had been quarried to the west at Laggan was transported to Castle Grant where it was burned in a kiln located on lot no.5. As an essential element of agricultural improvement the widespread use of lime had been encouraged by Sir James Grant who

offered in 1786 a premium of 2d. per boll laid on farm land.(Appendix XXXIX) The extent to which lime was used by the tenant farmers can be judged from a list of 40 farms in Abernethy Parish alone where limekilns were to be found in 1815.(37)

With additional summer grazing on Dava Moor at the hill improvement of Limekilns Sir James Grant could grass nearly 5 dozen cattle. In 1782, for example, the home farm and its associated farms and hill grazings grassed 57 cattle 20 of which were sold at the end of the summer to William Grant, drover in Foregin. Those beasts remaining included 10 milk cows, 2 bulls, 6 three-year-olds, 11 two-year-olds and 8 calves.(38) Two years earlier in 1780 it had been decided to reduce the number of milk cows on the home farm in order to take in beef cattle 'either by purchase or at so much per head.' James Macgregor, the factor and William Forbes, the grieve thought the wintering of fewer cattle to be a better plan and reassured Sir James Grant by explaining that:

...by your plan of grassing you serve your tenants, and secondly you sell hay and straw in the winter which will bring you money and some time serve your people very essentially.(39)

William Forbes had been busy in the same year 'tathing and liming' the Garkeen Park(40) which with the Dunan Park had till then been folded for cattle but were then thought ripe 'for braking up with tathing or dung.' Forbes had previously detailed for Sir James the method of managing the milk cows to best advantage:

The cowes should be folded on the park called the Clackernach where the sheep was folded last year. Their pasture in the morning should be the park to the north of the garden and the Garkeen coming round the the Cullchastle to their fold at 11 o'clock to be milked. In the afternoon the greens round the house, the woods, Little burn and Jackson Incloser, the oftener the grass or lawns is eatt the more

the grass will grow and it will keep the milk and butter of equal richness and couler through the season.(41)

William Forbes was in agreement with James Macgregor over the reduction in numbers of milk cows and suggested to Sir James that it was 'now full time to bring in yell cows for grass or beef.' Cattle were to be purchased 'at as high a price as any of the drovers will give at this season' principally from tenants who were short of grass and also from those tenants in arrears of rent.

Of 27 cows on the farm in 1780 twenty five had calves 5 of which died - a high mortality rate of 25% on supposedly the best farm in Strathspey.(42) With this in mind the improvement of inbye grass and the production of a good quality hay were seen as essential particularly when years such as 1780 could prove a liability with a shortage of winter feeding. By 24 January in that year corn and straw had increased in price to £1 per boll with meal at only 10s. per boll. Low cattle prices at £1 13s. to £2 each compounded the problem and Forbes was faced with the prospect of the cattle eating 'more than the value of themselves,'(43)

In addition to the cattle there were in the 1780s usually at least 6 working horses to be grazed and a variable quantity of sheep. On 15 January 1776, for example, 311 ewes, lambs and wedders were sold at Castle Grant.(Appendix XL) Again William Forbes was to describe for Sir James Grant the method of sheep management on the park lands of the home farm:

The sheep if they are not sent to a hill pasture should be confined to the northeast part of the Dunan farm for their afternoon pasture and in the morning they should pasture out on the north east side of the Dunan incloser above Geddes Improvement they may be cotted at Dunan on Jackson incloser, in the whole burn of Dunan, Mikle

Fruchie or greens round the house...and they may be secured in the little burn and Jackson incloser in the night time by turn.(44)

Sir James Grant was fortunate in having William Forbes as farm grieve at Castle Grant. A skilled and knowledgeable agriculturalist Forbes had in 1765 been 'sent up during the winter to see the method of laying out Policies in England and the Northumberland and Norfolk farming.'(45) His training and education enabled him not only to oversee the home farm and the tree planting programme but also to produce plans such as the careful sketches of the easter meadows of Coulmakyle(46) and the River Spey at Balliefurth.(47)

In advising Sir James against taking in too many of the tenants' cattle for grazing William Forbes went on to summarise the income and running costs of the home farm, showing a loss in 1779 of just under £60 - a figure that did not even take into account capital expenditure on improvements.(Appendix XLI)

Although situated on some of the best land in Strathspey, like so many of the model farms of the 18th century the expense was far greater than the income. Writing to his factor in 1805 to ask for details of his home farm Sir James Grant complained that:

Not one halfpenny ever comes in; and as every farmer not only maintains himself, his family and servants, but also the necessary stock and expenses of labouring etc. and exclusive of these pays his rent, besides saving money in many instances, it requires to be accounted for how my farms appear to be an exception.(48)

In carrying out a cost benefit analysis of the home farm the factor could not, however, have put a value on the farm as a testing ground for innovations that might prove an example to be emulated by improving tenant farmers.

Enclosure.

In contrast with the landscape, say, of Aberdeenshire or the Lothians the farm land of Strathspey is noticeably lacking in neat rectangular fields regularly enclosed by stone dykes or hedgerows that traditionally reflect the work of the great agricultural improvers. Physical geography dictates the lie of the land and here a complex topography dominated by stream systems and by glacial landforms such as eskers, kames and kettle holes breaks up the agricultural landscape to create a pattern that is predominantly one of irregularly shaped fields intermixed with rough, grassy waste land, scrub and plantation. This is not to say that hedge and dyke do not exist but for the most part wire fencing whose origins date back to the 1860s is the most common form of present day enclosure.(49)

Roy's survey(1747-55) indicates the presence of enclosed farms only at Castle Grant, Clury and Tullochgorm, and the more detailed plans of the Taylor brothers drawn up 20 years later suggest that few fields, even on the larger farms were individually enclosed. Where they were present George Taylor usually noted the existence of feal, earth and stone dykes that on occasions encircled entire farm holdings as at Dell and Eilaneorn in Abernethy Parish.(50) Many of the new hill improvements of the 1750s and 1760s were enclosed by feal dykes some of which are still visible today standing out no more than a foot high as on the site of the former improvement of Blairvaddan just south of the farm of Ballinluig on the old military road from Spey Bridge to Bridge of Brown.(51)

The building of dykes was a condition written into the lease of

hill improvements as in the case of Kichannahiller, 'an improvement on the common pasture ground of Tulchan' set in tack to John Grant of Clury in 1769. There it was required of the tenant that:

...he shall not only keep up the dykes and fences already made, but shall before the end of the first five years of this lease inclose the whole of the said Improvement and leave the dykes and fences in good order at his removal therefrom.(52)

The tacks of some farm holdings even included precise specifications for the building of dykes for which loans were available at an interest rate of 7%. William Grant in his lease of the three 8n parts of Dellechapple in 1770 was obliged to:

...inclose and subdivide the whole arable lands and pasture grounds within the same...with a stone dyke five quarters high and covered with two gang of feal.(53)

Although it may have been stipulated in the lease there is no guarantee that enclosures were erected on a farm. Many tenants could not afford the time or expense of building feal or drystone dykes a point illustrated by the tenants of Rynetin and Belnagowan who clearly intended 'to contract with some proper people to inclose with stone dykes' but argued 'that a nineteen year lease is too short for an expensive operation of that kind.' Sir James well knew the cost of building dykes since he had employed in the 1760s James Smith, a dyker who was paid at a rate of 2d. per ell to build feal dykes.

That an openfield system was widespread is clear not only from the maps of George Taylor but also from the petitions of individual tenants who eventually began to see the advantages of enclosure. In 1796 Alexander Cameron in Delbog beyond the Abernethy Forest petitioned Sir James Grant 'to order the Frasers in Ruichailach to inclose also as the half of that place is wide open which is very

disagreeable to all that sends cattle to the common pasture.'(54) Ten years later David Cameron in Gellovie pointed out that in the past his grain crops had suffered from mildew and early frost. He now intended to grow green crops and hay to be enclosed by 900 yards of stone dyking claiming it would be 'impossible to raise such crops properly in open fields.'(55)

The construction of dry stone dykes was contemplated only where there was easy access to stone in plentiful supply. Charles Grant in Wester Lettoch complaining of his arable land being 'full of backs and stones' in 1790 proposed to 'clear said lands' using this material to build dykes between his 'grass and corn.' In looking for assurance that he would be recompensed on his removal from the farm he also asked for advice on 'what maner said dykes should be carryed on.'(56)

Perhaps the most common type of enclosure during the late 18th century was the wooden fence or flake.(57) On the meadow land of Culnakyle farm by the River Nethy Ludovick Grant reckoned that, because of frequent flooding, the property was 'incapable of being inclosed by anything but flakes.' The Abernethy Forest was the source for much of this wood but with Sir James Grant's restriction on the taking of timber it became necessary to look to other materials or to ask for permission to obtain a supply of wood. In the sparsely wooded Cromdale Parish at Knockanakist the tenant farmer, James Grant complained that his 'fold is turn'd so old and rotten that it will not hold in his cattle so that your petitioner's corn has already suffered considerably' and requested 6 or 8 flakes 'to help his fold in Drum Dunan.'(58) The land surveyors may have omitted flake folds from

their plans because of their temporary nature but small garths made of wood were often noted close to the farm steading complex.

On the flat haugh land next to the River Spey sunken fences or ditches were an alternative to dyking or wooden flakes, but they could be expensive at a cost in 1789, for example, of 7½d. per ell for a 2½ foot deep ditch measuring 6 feet wide at the top and 3 feet wide at the bottom.(59) John Grant in Easter Achnagonalin with patches of arable land spread throughout the natural birch wood along the south side of the River Spey recognised all the problems and expense of enclosing so many parcels of land using stone dykes, sunken fences and feal dykes and in asking permission to use birch wood branches for fencing he suggested a form of coppice management that would provide useful timber for this purpose.(Appendix XLII)

The well travelled William Forbes had been keen on the idea of planting hedges throughout Strathspey and proposed to set an example on his own farm at Milton by planting hawthorn on top of nearly 200 ells of feal dyking that already existed. To support the young plants and provide protection against grazing cattle wooden flakes were to be used.(Appendix XLIII) He was perhaps optimistic in thinking that tenants could be encouraged to plant hedges but his example was followed by a few of the more prosperous farmers whose hedge planting can still be seen, for example, at Auchernack and Balliemore.

During the latter half of the 18th century the process of enclosure was, therefore, slow with many open fields still in existence by the time George Brown came to survey the estate in the period 1804-13. Enclosure was evident on the larger farms such as

Balliemore which had been enclosed by James Macgregor the Strathspey factor and received particular attention by Andrew Wight (1781) when he recorded that Macgregor's 'enclosure with substantial stone walls, coped with turf, make impregnable fences.'

On the majority of small farms and crofts enclosure was an unacceptable expense and to some extent an unnecessary measure since herding of livestock was a function that could easily be carried out by members of the family in summer and winter. If enclosure had been widespread through Strathspey it would hardly have been necessary to include in the 1807 estate regulations the stipulation:

That all and each of the tenants and possessors shall upon all uninclosed grounds herd their horses, cattle, sheep and other bestial in the winter as well as in the summer seasons.(60)

In other districts there was a similar pattern of enclosure. The Old Statistical Account for Nairnshire,(61) for example, states that only 2 or 3 properties were enclosed in that county and for neighbouring Morayshire there were also few enclosures 'except around Gentlemen's places.'(62) It was during the 19th century that enclosures were to gain momentum especially with the division of common grazings and the introduction of wire and stob fencing during the more prosperous years of the 1860s.

Drainage and Water Management.

During the lifetime of Sir James Grant the problems of water management and drainage were to be tackled by both tenant and Land owner. Flooding was a particular hazard on the flat haugh lands of Strathspey where frequent inundations were and still are a problem

for the farmer to contend with. An intense natural drainage network focuses run-off from the surrounding mountains directly onto low lying farm land where not only flooding but also changing stream courses can radically alter the face of the land. There were many reports of spring spate and summer storm floods such as the one told by Grant of Tullochgriban writing to the estate clerk in October 1771. As a result of a recent inundation he was suffering from 'a severe cold I got by being in water for four or five hours saving my corns from the water of Dulnan which has overflowed its banks.'(63) Nine years later in a similar but more matter of fact report James Macgregor described to Sir James the damage done to the dykes on his farm at Dalvey and to the crops on the neighboring farms as the result of an eight day spate that had commenced on 20 July:

The burn of Delay has destroyed much of Donald Delays corns on the haugh and the people at Toremore has suffered much.(64)

On the north side of the Spey an estimate of the value of the arable lands of Clury and Milntown of Muckerach amounting to £90 8s. 4d. was reckoned low in comparison with other farms because at least 70 out of the 242 acres were haugh land 'subject to the overflow of the water.' The report continued with a detailed account of how earth embankments could be constructed to prevent the overflow of water onto the arable land of Clury:

An Earthen dyke built at about 30 yards distance from the bank of the water would prevent the overflow; this dyke should be made broad in the foundation, and laid off from both sides as they build it up, so that it may be more like a round mole than a dyke, this method of constructing it will prevent the water from cutting it in Speats, because as the water rises upon it she will press it down - When the water makes a narrow turn it would not be adviseable to follow her course with the dyke, as it would interrupt the run of the water and throw her too much upon the opposite side - If the turn of the water

is large it may be carried round, but at least at double the distance from the bank, in order that the water may have room to discharge itself easily - The dry lands of Clury are a very proper subject for lyme and as the lymestone and moss are at the door they may be limed to great advantage at a small expense.(65)

Similarly, in valuing the lands of Tullochgriban in 1771 Sandy Taylor, the land surveyor pointed out that:

...the only disadvantage they labour under is , that Dulnan floods the lower grounds in Speats, which sometimes hurts the grass by leaving sand amongst it, besides that the ground is soured by the stagnation of the water after the flood is gone, for want of proper drains to carry it off.

Taylor went on to describe in even greater detail the construction of embankments, drains and sluices to protect and improve the farm adding a note of costs estimated at between £50 and £60 sterling.(Appendix XLIV)

Bulwarks made of wood were already in existence in the 1760s when attention was focussed on the River Nethy which was causing considerable damage to the farm of Coulmakyle at which point it ran into the River Spey. It was first considered necessary to change the course of the river by making an alternative channel to be constructed 'by calling the whole parish, (two or three Davochs at a time) to work one day.'(66) A report in 1769 by John Williams, an engineer confirmed that it would be an expensive operation and gave advice on the cutting of the channel and the building of Bulwarks to contain the water during peak flows.(Appendix XLV) In the following year a plan of the River Nethy and the surrounding farms was completed by Peter May, the land surveyor prior to the commencement of the 'saveing of Culmakyle.'(67)

Despite this attempt at controlling the movement of the water the

farm was by no means safe from future flooding. In describing later attempts to protect the arable land of Coulmakyle in 1799 the factor was to note that 'the Nethy now runs quite off Culmakyle by a small cut lately made and by another cut that is a making I hope will be still more out of its reach.'(68) As a result of the straightening of the Nethy at Coulmakyle a new 3½ acre field named 'the Allers' was created.(69) Although the prevention of flooding at Coulmakyle was reason enough for the straightening of the River Nethy an important reason for this second cut being made was undoubtedly to facilitate the floating of timber from the Forest of Abernethy to the River Spey. Ten years later in 1809 the Aultneick Burn was straightened in this way principally as an aid to timber logging.(70)

Whilst reporting on the River Nethy John Williams also viewed the River Spey where it meandered around the Big Meadow not far from Balliefurth. There he recommended 'reducing the river into a good channel' but warned 'it will cost a sum of money to do it.'(71) Surveys of the river at this point were eventually carried out by William Forbes(72) but because of the enormous cost in time and money the work was never completed. Much later in 1865, however, £196 17s. 4d. was spent on embanking and straightening the channel further up the Spey at Broomhill.(73)

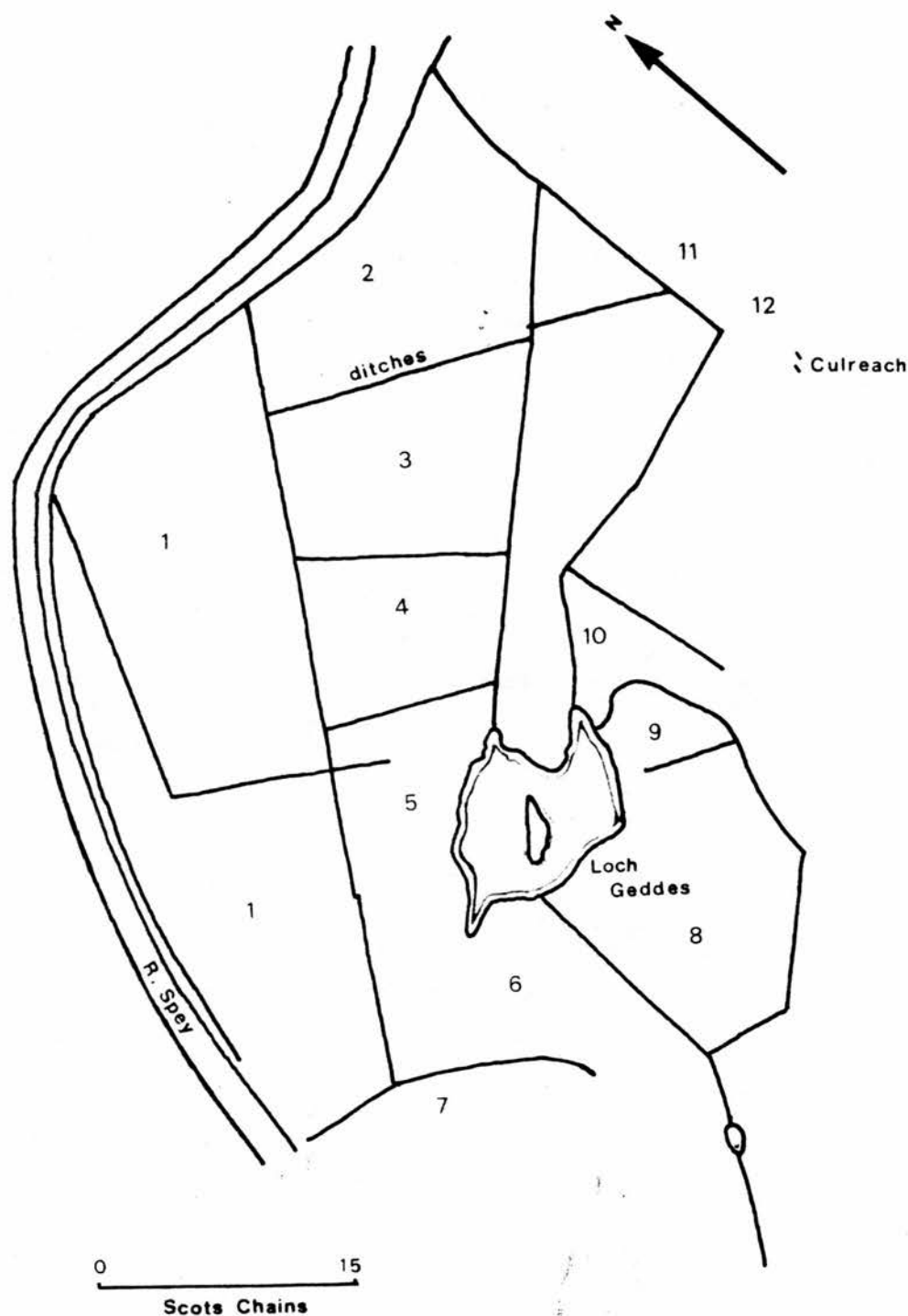
By the end of the first decade of the 19th century nearly 12 miles of bulwarks had been built at various stages along the banks of the River Dulnain and the River Spey at Auchterblair, Mullochard, Tullochgriban, Tullochgorm, Coulmakyle and Balliefurth.(74) In 1809 alone £168 17s. 2d. was spent at Tullochgorm on constructing nearly 2,400 yards of embankment ranging in height from 2ft. 8ins. to 6 feet.

(Appendix XLVI) As the century progressed increasing amounts were to be spent on drainage and water management which was a prerequisite to farm improvement.

Hand in hand with the construction of embankments and the changing of stream courses went the drainage of land for reclamation. During the latter half of the 18th century drainage using open ditches was carried out mostly by Sir James Grant himself or by his principal tacksmen. A major attempt was made to drain the 230 Scots acre Big or Meikle Meadow of Coulmakyle in the 1790s when nearly 1,400 yards of ditches were dug by William Grant in Rothiemoon and William Fraser in Boat of Garten, both of whom worked under the guidance of William Forbes.(Fig. 4.1) A further 3,236 yards of existing ditches were widened and cleared at an additional cost of £52 12s. 8d. thus reducing in size the former kettle hole, Geddes Loch to two small patches of water.(75)

On the Home Farm near old Grantown drainage plans for Coulchastle Park and the Moss of Polochar in 1802(76) demonstrate the improvements made possible by the use of both open ditches and covered drains. Although not widespread such improvements were prominent enough to be observed by Forsyth(1806) who noted that there were 'fields better drained, properly laid out by ditches and earthen fences.'

The Meikle Meadow of Coulmakyle
Surveyed by George Brown, 1811.



Source: RHP 13936

1. fine grass, has been partly laboured 2. fine grass, has been laboured 3. good flat meadow grass 4. good meadow grass 5. flat meadow grass 6. good flat meadow grass 7. grass pasture & broom 8. wet meadow grass 9. good pasture 10. moor 11. pretty good grass 12. wet grass

Figure 4.1

Summer Shielings.

That the majority of the tenants of Strathspey did not take to extensive arable improvement with any great enthusiasm is hardly surprising since for generations they had been pastoralists. Lord Findlater had pointed this out to William Lorimer in the 1760s claiming that 'grassings and pasture should be prosecuted in the Highlands rather than cultivation of corn.'⁽⁷⁷⁾ Sir James Grant, however, was still firm in his belief that an increase in the production of arable crops would be the key to future prosperity. This notion had perhaps been strengthened in 1762 when Lorimer wrote to him describing the traditional way of life in the Highlands:

The old Highlanders cultivated very little ground, they lived on milk, cheese, a little flesh of sheep or goats, and on the Blood of their cattle, and most of all on the plunder and booty they took from one another, and from the Lowlands, and lastly on shooting deer and roes.⁽⁷⁸⁾

Lorimer, nevertheless, was realistic enough to understand that the tenants could only pay their rents by selling cattle. In the 1760s the wadsetters had claimed that the number of cattle in Strathspey had been 'lessened by the Laird's modern improvements' against which there had been much opposition from the grazier tenants.⁽⁷⁹⁾ This resistance was initially dismissed in the belief that 'All Highlanders, as such, have an aversion to improvements - the tillage of ground is but modern among them - idleness is too much their characteristic.'⁽⁸⁰⁾ But Lorimer held that cultivation and pasture improvement would be of great value in increasing the number of livestock - one acre of improved inby being able to provide more feed than 10 or 20 hill pasture acres. Sowing a mixture of clover and rye grass for hay and planting turnips for winter feed he believed

would 'more than make up for the loss of pasture Lett out in improvements.'(81) The ability to provide increased winter fodder as a result of arable improvements would therefore help to increase the stocking rates of individual farms.

Some tenants were undoubtedly quick to realise the potential for such improvement but for the most part the farms of Strathspey in the 1760s still relied for winter feed on pockets of rough grazing near to the farm steading, on hay from the Speyside meadowlands and on straw from the arable land. At the same time extensive ranges of common grazing both close to the farm and at a distance were a traditional part of the pastoral system utilised mostly during the spring, summer and autumn months.

By letting many of the better summer grazing sites in the open hill to improvers Sir James Grant had disturbed a pattern of pastoral organization that had existed for generations and had evolved to give each farm year-round access to grazing resources. It was no wonder that the tenants complained and did all in their power to restore the balance by one means or another. Even James Grant, the Strathspey clerk found himself short of pasture for his cattle in May 1780 and writing to Sir James he explained his need for adequate grazing throughout the year, especially since he had lost possession of two hill improvement sites that he had formerly used as a spring pasture:

Having no hill place for my cattle in summer, your Honour told me in Spring last year, that as long as you kept Easter Lymekilns in your own hands I might send my cattle there, which accordingly I did last summer, and I now beg to know if I may send them this year or any longer.-

I have no place to send them to, nor grass to maintain them at home.- On any farm of Grantown, of about sixteen pounds rent, there is no more grass than to serve six cows with their stirks, & thrie or four horses thro the summer.

I stand in much need of some corner for shelter to my cattle in the months of October & November, to enable me to keep my cattle unhoused as long as I can, to save provender, as also in the months of March & April it would be of the greatest service...but now that Fraser the smiths Improvement and that of Mrs Mackenzie's are taken from me, even in spring before the rising of the grass, I will be much diffculted for a tuft of heather for my cattle in spring, as on the farm of Grantown there is none.(82)

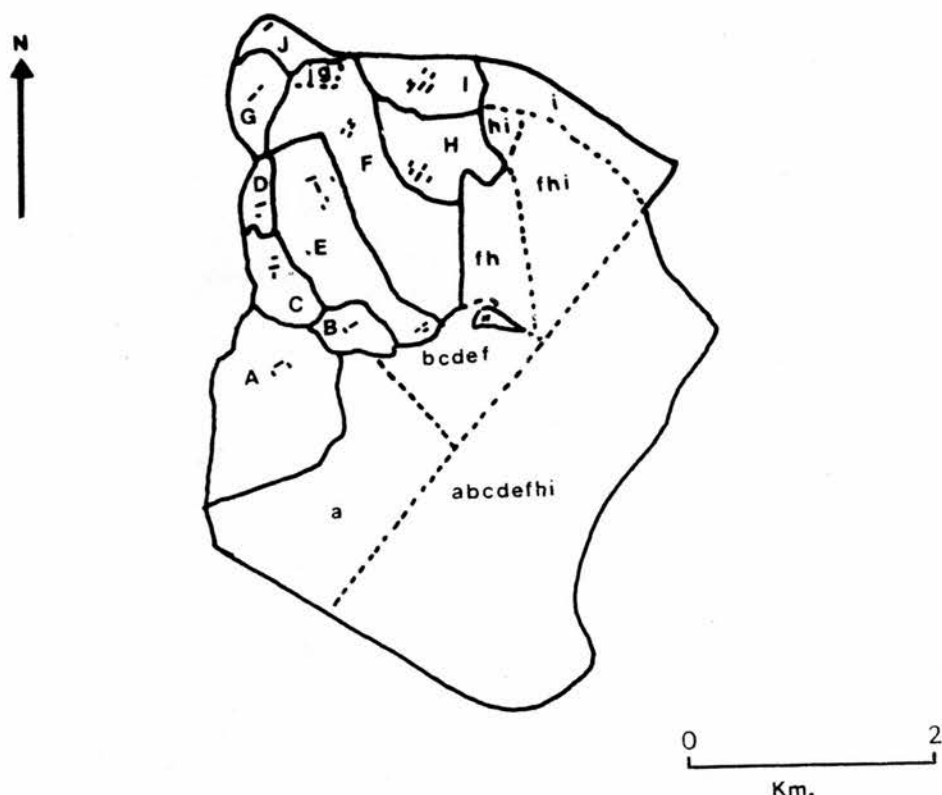
James Grant's plea to Sir James illustrates the way in which cattle were moved from one grazing area to another throughout the year in an organised fashion that provided fresh pasture from one month to the next and minimised the quantities of supplementary winter feed required. The movement of livestock to make optimum use of the best available pasture had been a traditional method of livestock management for some time and was of vital importance, especially to the tenants like James Grant who had limited access to good pasture in the vicinity of his farm. If it was not already so, the value of hill grazings must have been made abundantly clear to Sir James Grant in the spring of 1780 when William Forbes reported that he had sent a bowman to check on the laird's cattle which were being grazed for a few months on the Dava Moor near Limekilns where 'they have no grass but the heather nor any shelter but the rocks,' adding that 'this will show you the benefits of having a hill possession, it makes them hardie and it lets up the In grass.'(83)

The utilisation of the vast expanse of hill grazings in Strathspey was not organised in a rigid manner such that individual farms had an exclusive right to pasture a certain number of animals on a specific location with clearly defined boundaries. Normally, the lease or wadset contract made only a vague reference to 'the glens and sheallings of the said lands'(84) and only where improvements had

begun to take place were they documented under a specific name as illustrated by a 1727 contract of wadset between the Laird of Grant and Robert Grant for the lands of Gorton and others including 'the shealling of Riechraggan adjacent to Riesween and Aittendow (the sheallings appropriat of the lands of Glenbegg).'(85) From the mid 1760s it was decided 'not to mention grazings or shealings in tacks' in order that the estate could control the expansion of leased hill improvements on former shieling sites,(86) but the traditional use of summer shielings continued to operate along the lines that had evolved over many generations.

The relationship between individual farms and their hill grazings depended on their geographical location. Obviously, where there was an abundance of pasture within easy reach of the farm there was no need for the seasonal movement of livestock under transhumance to distant shieling sites. On the farm of Glenlochy, for example, James Grant, worried about encroachment of sheep from neighbouring common pasture wrote to the factor in 1803 reminding him that 'you know I have no summering nor wintering from Glenlochy and what ever sheep I may have is always on the same gang.'(87) Similarly, in the parish of Cromdale on the south side of the River Spey tenant farmers had easy access to both exclusive and common grazings within easy reach of their holdings. In the Barony of Cromdale with 9 farms and crofts under direct lease in 1810 the tenants shared 1387 Scots acres(566Ha.) of common grazing. The survey of George Brown illustrates the nature of grazing organisation giving each farm access to pasture of adequate quantity and quality with associated watering places.(88) In Figure 4.2 Burnside had 362 Scots acres(186Ha.) of contiguous exclusive

Figure 4.2 Common Grazings in the Barony of Cromdale
Surveyed by George Brown, 1810.



Source: RHP13932

		Scots Acres		
		<u>arable</u>	<u>pasture</u>	<u>total</u>
A.	Burnside	67:1:02	362:3:09	430:0:11
B.	Coulnaduim	19:3:02	29:1:15	49:0:17
C.	Croft	10:3:08	20:2:00	31:1:08
D.	Cottartown	10:2:07	12:2:29	23:0:36
E.	W.Lethendy	50:2:03	57:3:23	108:1:26
F.	E.Lethendy	59:0:03	130:3:28	189:3:31
G.	Croftndam	10:0:22	18:1:20	28:2:02
H.	Ballachule	21:2:36	33:1:08	55:0:04
I.	Claggarnich	27:2:15	138:0:21	165:2:35
J.	Milltown	6:0:14	9:0:20	15:0:34

Common Grazings:

jgf	32:2:20
hi	8:0:12
fhi	106:1:17
fh	86:0:17
bcdef	74:0:27
abcdefhi	717:0:06

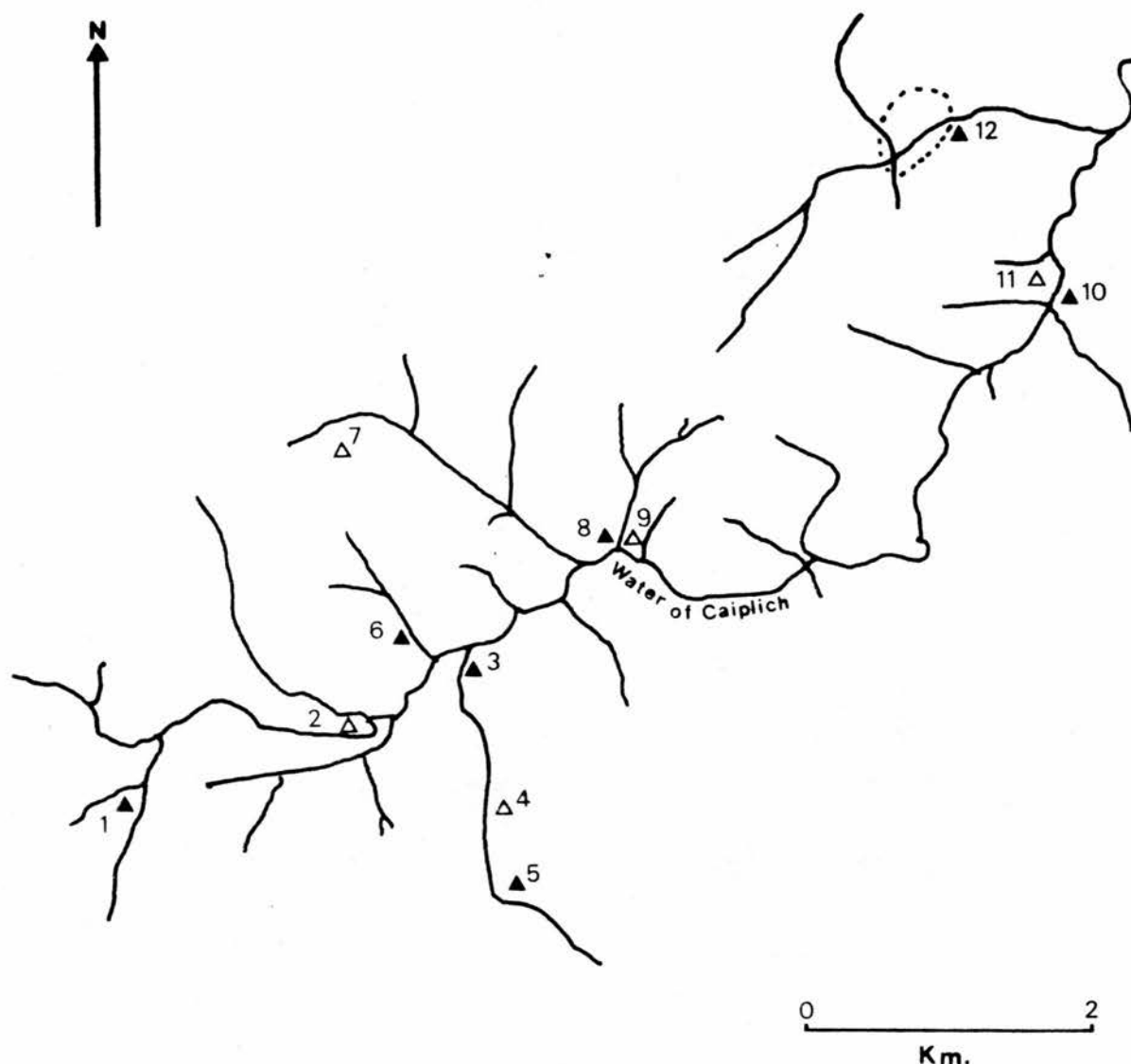
grazing but also a right to graze in common with 7 other farms on the adjacent 717 acre(293Ha.) uppermost pasture on the Cromdale Hills. E.Lethendry on the other hand, also had a thin stretch of exclusive grazing but grazed in several additional areas, one small patch of 8 acres(4Ha.) in common with Ballachule and Claggernich, another of 86 acres(44Ha.) in common with Ballachule alone, a third of 74 acres(38Ha.) in common with Coulnduim, Cottartown, W.Lethendry and a small croft and finally a fourth on the larger common pasture on the upper hill slopes. None of these farms required the use of distant shielings although one site named Ri Smutan was recorded by George Brown. This may, however, have been a bothy site used by a herdsman hefting cattle here on the upper Burnside pasture at night.

To the north of the Spey in Cromdale Parish and throughout the rest of the Strathspey Estate in the parishes of Duthil and Abernethy the use of summer shielings was common as suggested by the frequency of names beginnning with ri or rea in the upper hill ground. The farms lying between Ballindaloch and Grantown used pasture in Glen Gheallaidh, Glen Tulchan and on the Dava Moor while further west the shielings of farms between Grantown and Carrbridge were to be found stretching from the Dava Moor across the Duthil Burn and the south facing slopes of Carn Glas Choire to Slochd. For those tenants with farms situated between Carrbridge and Aviemore there was a trek over Craigellachie to the upper reaches of the Dulnain River in the heart of the Monadhliath Mountains and on the south side of the Spey in Abernethy Parish livestock were moved up past the pine forest onto the Braes of Abernethy and beyond to the Water of Caiplich, a distance of some 12 miles from the haugh lands of the River Spey.

The pasture lands of Abernethy had in fact been extended eastward and southward as far as Loch Avon beyond the natural boundary of Cairngorm and Kincardine Hills by the acquisition in 1744 of the small Strathavon estate of Delnabo, feued by the Grants of Auchernack.(89) Shieling sites such as Slattich, Ruprich and Corrieleachkach on the Water of Caiplich, all of which had belonged to Delnabo were then additionally to be occupied in the summer months by tenants from Auchernack, Balliemore and Balliefurth although the Duke of Gordon also claimed a right to them in respect of the 'ploughland of Torbreck' lying adjacent to Delnabo.(90) This situation was to give rise to a march dispute between the Duke of Gordon and Grant of Grant during the years 1766-71, a dispute that has provided for the historical geographer in search of summer shielings a useful set of depositions in evidence and surveys by the land surveyor, Thomas Milne.(91)

The plans of Thomas Milne delineating the boundary between the Gordon and Grant estates indicate the location of individual Abernethy shielings and bothies which were mostly situated near the upper reaches of the River Nethy and on interfluvial sites close to the Water of Caiplich and its tributaries set high enough above the water to avoid flooding.(Figs. 4.3 & 4.4) The plans, however, do not give any clues as to the way in which the shieling grounds were divided up amongst the tenants, except for the occasional reference to a farm. The written proof associated with the march dispute sheds more light on the nature of the pastoral system. There is no doubt, for example, that shielings were revisited year after year by the same tenants and that sometimes specific sites were shared by more than one farm.

Figure 4.3 Abernethy Shielings on the Water of Caiplich
 Surveyed by Thomas Milne, 1771



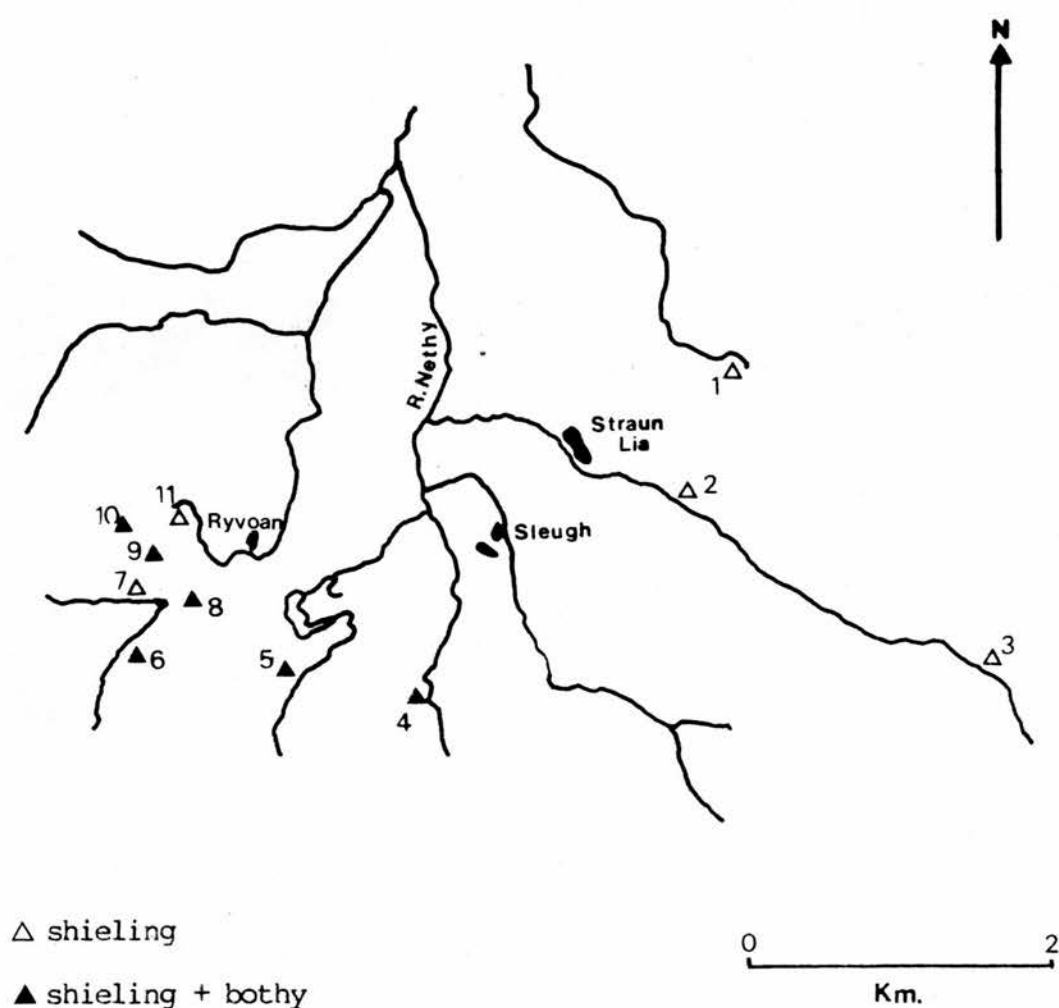
△ shieling

▲ shieling + bothy

1. Rea Ault Neugh [Lurg] 2. Straunmore 3,4,5. Rea Feabuie [Lainchoil] 6. Boan Shemarna Bhlaar [Lainchoil & Balliemore] 7. Eskine Liar Curr [Lainchoil, Auchernack, Balliemore] 8. Rea Brack [Auchernack] 9. Rea Cuachan Our [Auchernack] 10. Sheals of Ruprich [Delnabo, Balliemore] 11. Ruprich haugh [Balliemore] 12. Ward of Slatich [Balliefurth]

Source: RHP 1857

Figure 4.4 Abernethy Shielings beyond Upper Abernethy Forest
Surveyed by Thomas Milne, 1771



1. Rea Corrach [Lurg] 2. Rea Luckan [Rothiemoon] 3. Rea Bae [Rothiemoon] 4. Rea Balfanack [Croftnahawen, Milngarrow, Boat Croft of Gartenmore] 5. Rea Carrachur [Rynettin] 6. Rean Loit [Tulloch] 7. Rea Taros [Tulloch] 8. Inishalag [Tulloch] 9. Rean Lurgan [Tulloch] 10. Rea Press Crie [Tulloch] 11. Reana Cloich [Tulloch]

Source: RHP 2003

Marjorie Grant in Toberai in the Braes of Abernethy gave evidence in 1766 to the effect that:

...she and her husband sheall'd at Feabuie above forty years ago and that is the shealling of both Culnafia and Tobberay where she now resides and that their cattle feed there to this day.(92)

Duncan Grant of Auchernack had similarly occupied the Rea Brack shieling for over 40 years claiming that 'he never met with any interruption in that possession...and that it is known and goes by the name of the shealling of Auchernack.'(93)

There was no exclusive right to hill pasture since it was customary for tenants' cattle to graze in common sometimes under the eye of a cattle herd whose task was to look after the livestock and ensure that there was no encroachment on the pasture or occupation of both sites by those who did not have a traditional right to be there. Aggravation at the intrusion of hill improvers onto these grounds can be judged by the situation on common pasture west of the Duthil Burn. On part of the common pasture known as Baddinarkid Seton Grant of Miltown had sublet his shieling bothies to hill improvers much to the annoyance of Alexander Grant in W. Duthil whose cattle were now being deprived of valuable summer grazing. One of his neighbours, James Shaw, gave evidence that:

...all the cattle of the neighbourhood pastur'd promiscuously there and that it was the practice then over all the country that every man kept others from building a bothie and that he never heard any of the cattle in the neighbourhood being stopt by any person from pasturing in Baddinarkid by day or night...

...he knows that both Milltown, and his father and cottars had bothies there...and...that the cattle of Mullochard had always a road or pass there to go to and from the sheall of Glaschorr and were never interrupted to pasture in Baddinargid...(94)

Although specific shieling bothies were occupied by one or a

number of tenants the organisation of the hill grazings was generally such that each of the davoch lands was allocated a range of pasture on which the tenants within that davoch grazed in common. John Grant of Gartenmore giving evidence described the location of the shieling grounds of the davoch of Gartenmore:

The hill grazeings of the Davoch lands of Gartenmore begin at the sheallings of Badd Feannack and Sliach and the cattle pastur'd southward from thence to Lochaven...(95)

The neighbouring shieling grounds to the west of the River Nethy were occupied by the tenants from the half davoch of Rymore and the two davoch lands of East and West Tulloch. The sites traditionally occupied by each of these lands were described by the tenants of Gartenmore in 1837 during a grazing dispute claiming:

That the Glens, sheillings and Pasturage belonging to the tenants in the district of Tulloch are wholly situated on the north west of the river Nethy,comprehending the following viz. Rydow and Garochar, adjoining and bordering on the north of Battfianiack, being the sheillings and glen for the half Davoch of Rymore; then follows in a north westerely direction, the following Glens and Runs allotted to the other two Davochs of Tulloch viz. Rynanshalg, Ryvoan, Rycree, Ryachearnish, Ryparpara, and Rychaich, with the several other small runs and Glens attached to them.(96)

Whereas shieling grounds in Strathspey were organised by the davoch land those in neighbouring Strathavon were by comparison shown by Gaffney(1960) to be allocated by the half davoch. There John Stewart of Torbain pointed out to the Duke of Gordon in 1770 that 'every town or half davoch of land in the county have their own glens and pasturage.'

Figures 4.5, 4.6 & 4.7 illustrate the general relationship between farm and hill grazing in Strathspey by linking the principal farms of davoch lands to their main shieling grounds. Where tenants

Abernethy Farms and their Principal Shieling Grounds,
c.1765-1770

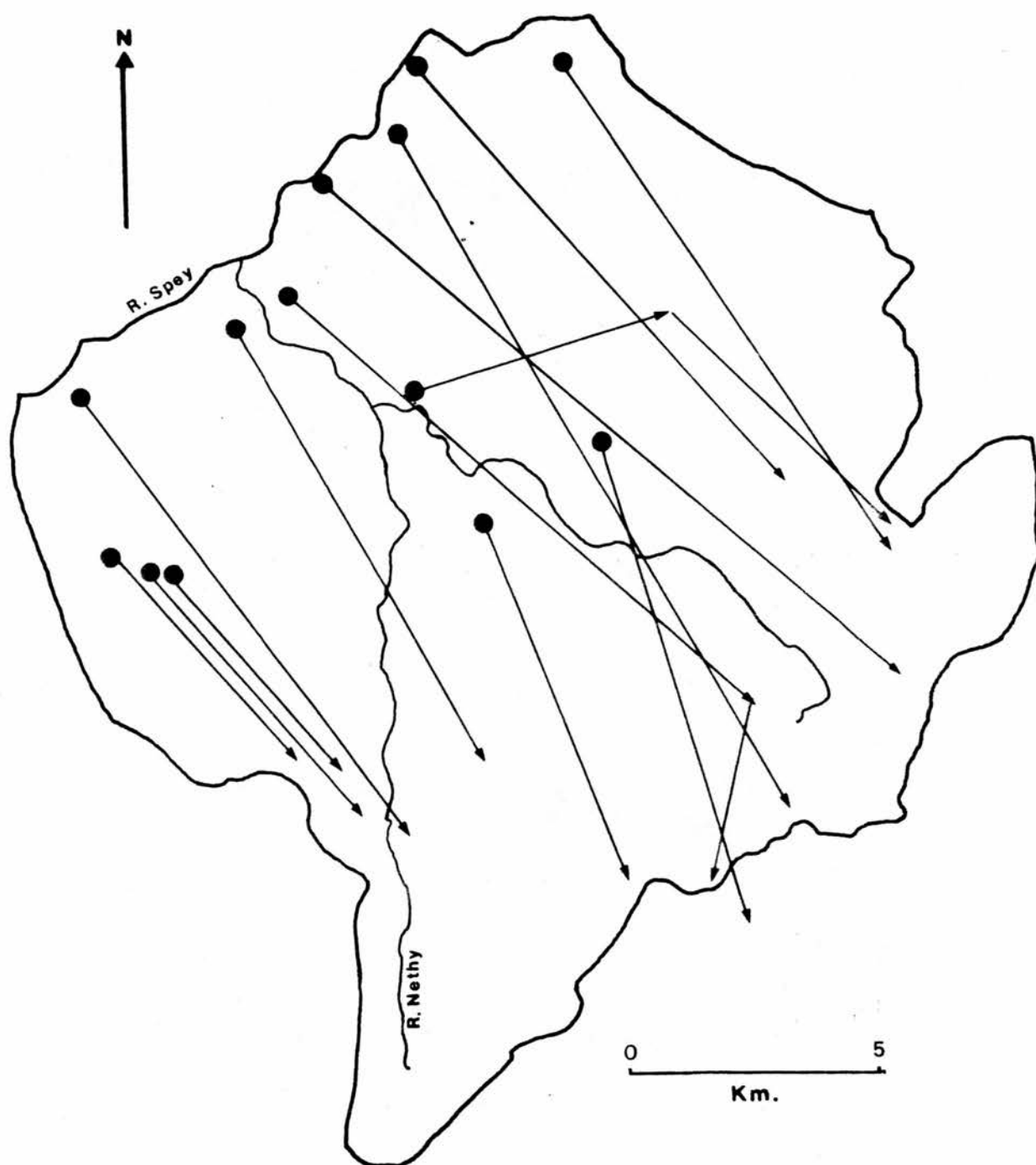


Figure 4.5

Duthil Farms and their Principal Shieling Grounds,
c. 1765-70

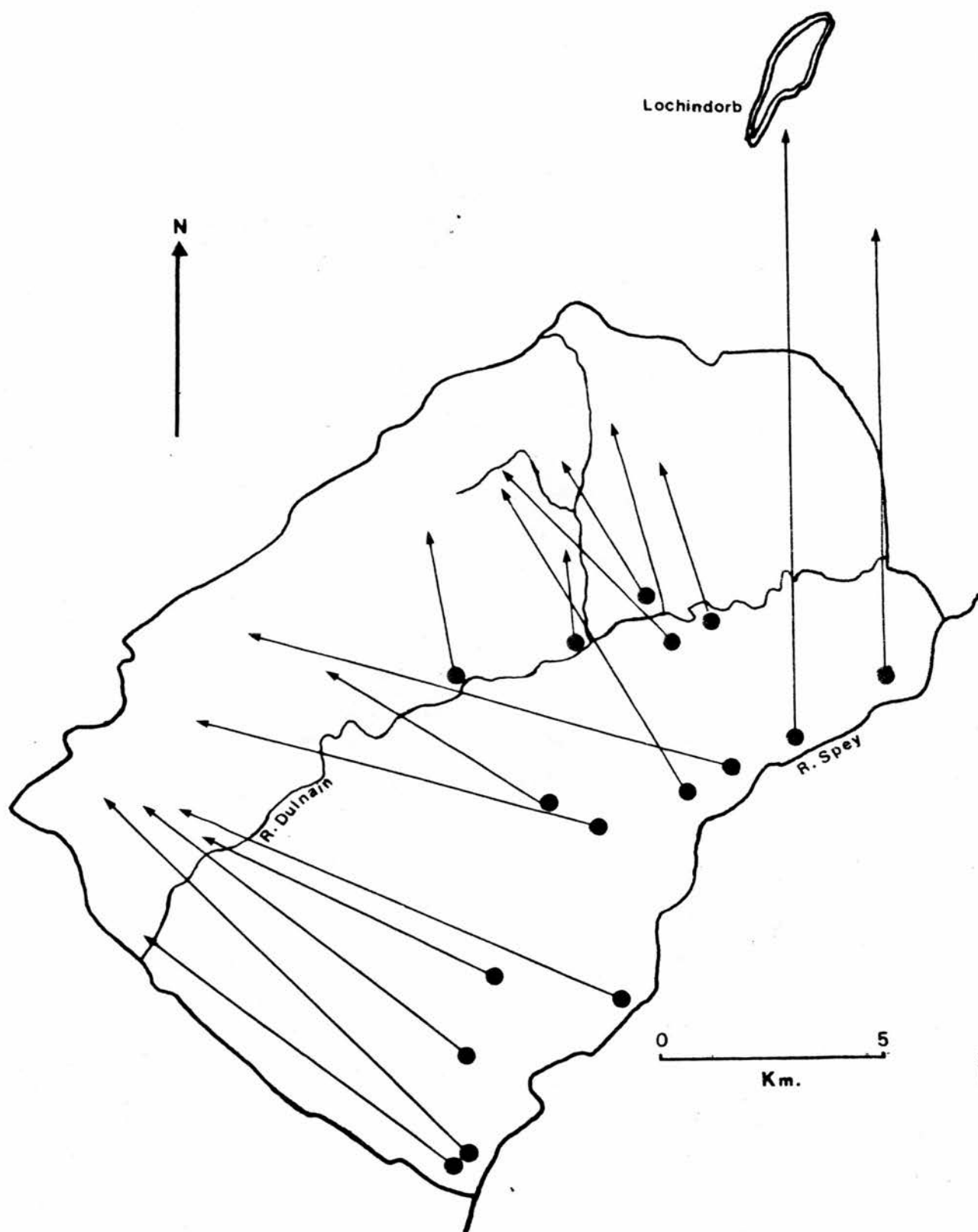


Figure 4.6

Cromdale Farms and their Principal Shielling Grounds,
c.1765-70

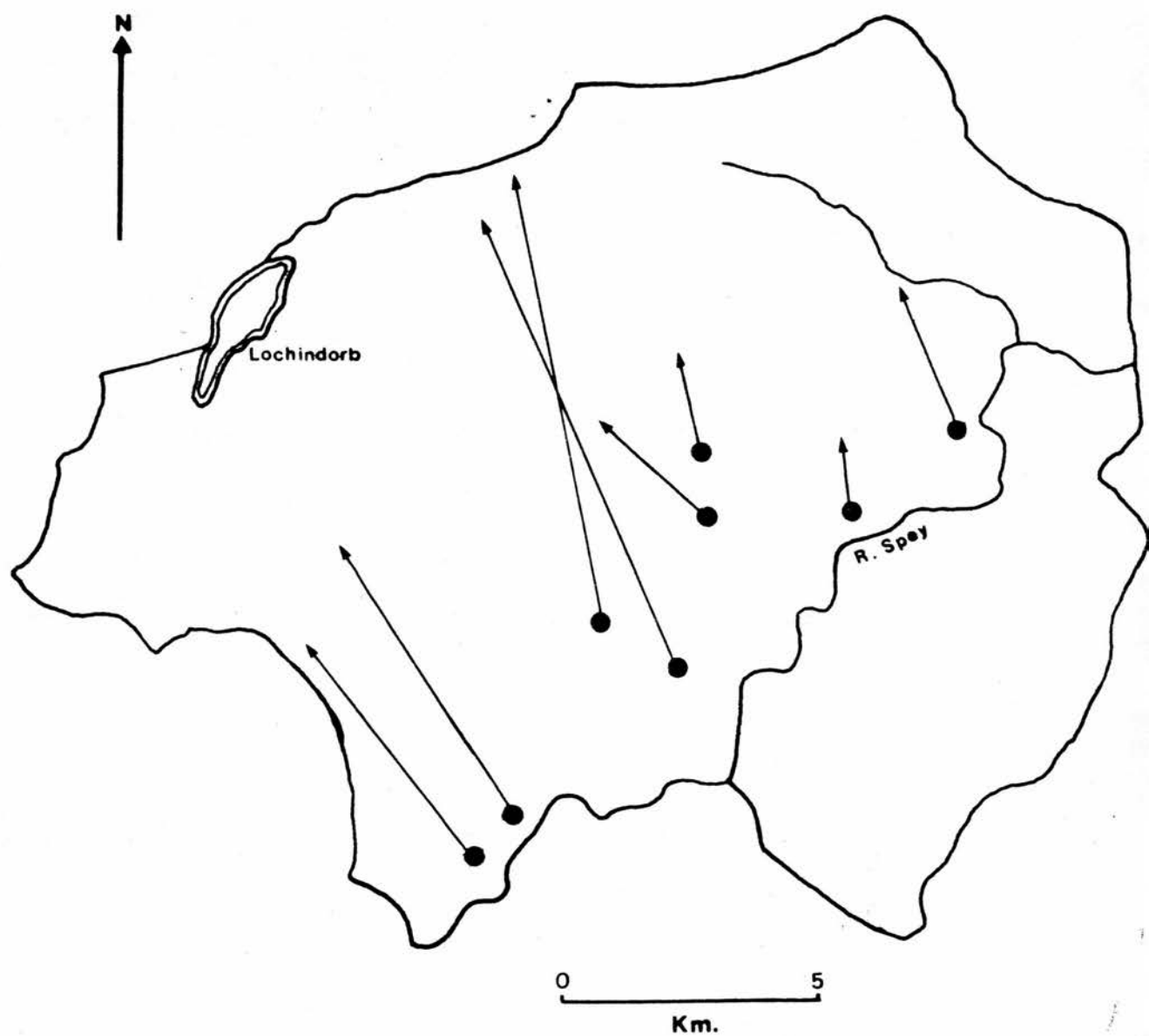


Figure 4.7

had a considerable number of livestock there was a variation to this pattern in that cattle and sheep were moved from one shieling ground to another through the period between spring and autumn. In the 1760s Grant of Balliemore, for example:

...pastured his cattle from the month of May when he took them out of the byres, first upon the Gealcharn, from that to the Caiplich, from that to the foot of the Feabuie and from the Feabuie on both sides of Dangrin till he came to A'an nan Feann.(97)

It was not always necessary to have bothies at all of these shieling sites if the distance was not too great from one grazing to the next. There were no bothies at the Eskin Lier Curr shieling which was grazed during the summer months not only by cattle from Balliemore whose principal shieling was at Ruprich, but also by cattle from Auchernack and Lainchoil. Likewise, Auchernack, whose principal shieling was at Rea Break on the Caiplich Water, utilised the grazing at Rea Cuachan Our less than quarter of a mile away without the need to raise a bothy there.

Whilst providing a sequence of fresh pasture throughout the summer the movement of cattle considerable distances was a distinct disadvantage, particularly for a farmer such as Grant of Balliemore with large stocks of sheep, goats, milk cows and yeld cattle. Only the cattle were sent to the most distant glens, the remainder being held on lower pastures closer to the farm. By the end of the 18th century the tenant farmer there had been able to acquire additional pasture at the former hill improvement of Dirdhu which was conveniently placed half way between his farm and his upper shieling grounds. The Dirdhu not only provided a useful staging pasture en route to and from the Caiplich Water grazings but also a supplementary

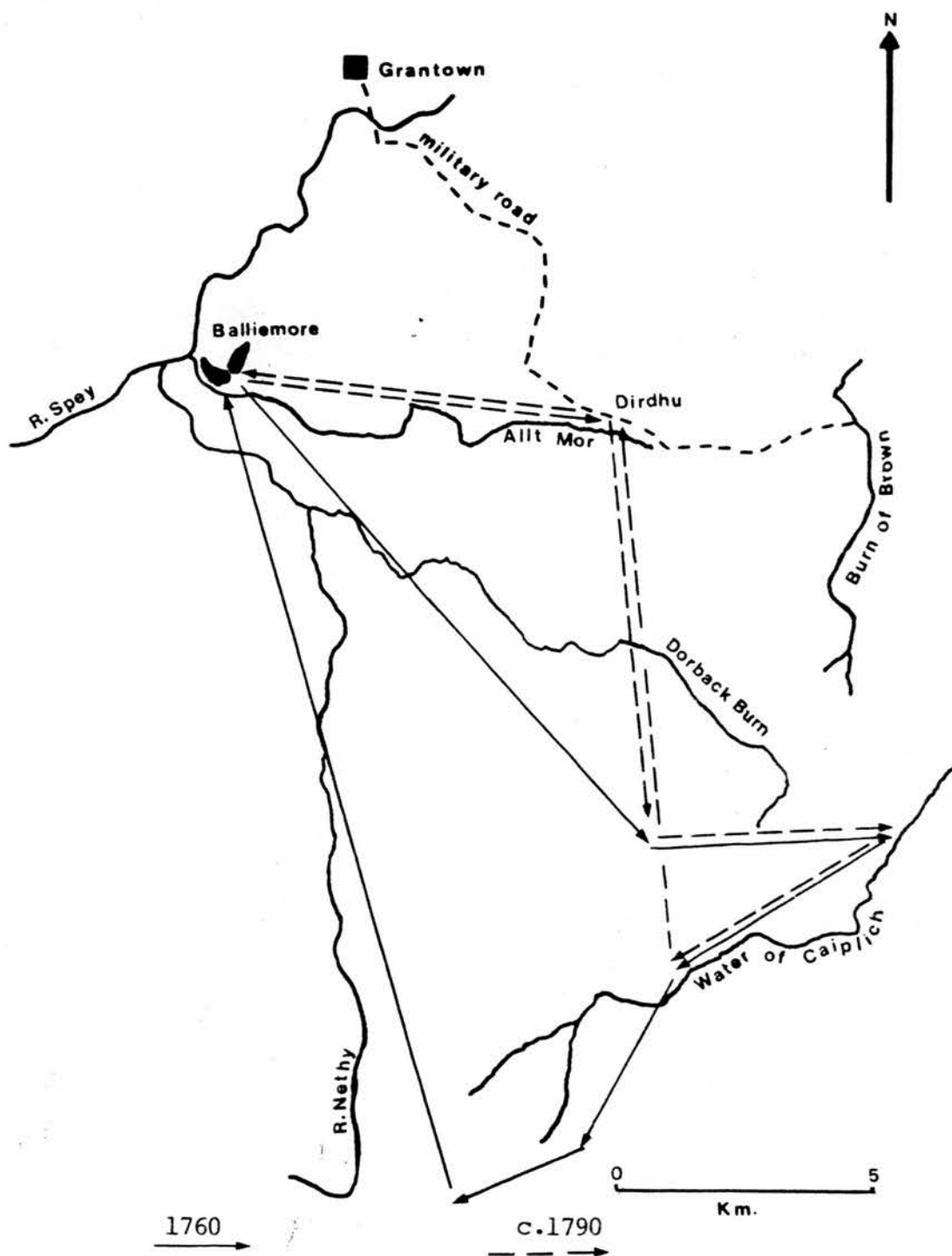
pasture for goats and sheep.(Fig. 4.8) In complaining about the number of sheep bearing down on his pasture from Dirdhu, James Grant in Glenlochry was to note in 1803 that 'Mr. Lawson has Belliemore for a wintering, a far glen for a summering, the Derrydow for spring and harvest.' In order to prevent the Glenlochry pasture from being 'eat up' by Balliemore's sheep James Grant was obliged to 'keep almost a constant herd at the Crask.'(98)

The use of herds during the summer and winter had been widespread for some time as suggested by the depositions given in the 1766 march dispute by herds who knew well the grounds traditionally associated with each farm or davoch. John Anderson in the small Abernethy improvement of Boglachynack was one who had 48 years earlier been a herd for 2 years to Grant of Clury and 16 years later had herded cattle for the Laird of Grant and then for Grant of Balliemore.(99) At the summer shieling of Boan Shemarna Blaar Alexander Stuart in the farm of Clachaig had similarly looked after the cattle of his own neighbours the Stuarts of Lainchoil.(100)

There were few enclosures for the hefting of cattle at night in the upper glens of Abernethy despite the fact that an Act of 1688 had made night time folding obligatory.(101) On the Dava Moor, however, Alexander Cumming in Easter Limekilns, who was employed at a wage of £4 to herd cattle during the summer of 1779 for Sir James Grant and his clerk, requested 'that flaiks are to be set up to that place for folding there cattle in thro' the night.'(102)

With the setting of hill improvements either directly by the estate or as subtenancies by principal tacksmen the shieling sites

Farm of Balliemore,
Spring, Summer and Autumn Shielings, 1760 & c.1790.



Sources: GD 248/445
GD 248/367/3

Figure 4.8

were the obvious places to look to since they had been well manured by cattle for years and had sometimes been cultivated by tenants while in summer occupancy. This had been noted by Robertson(1808) in Perthshire where shielings had been set down 'on spots that were naturally covered with heath,' but with the yearly hefting of cattle 'became as green as a meadow, to the extent of several acres around the huts, by the manure of the cattle which lay there at night.' Many of these sites, he commented, 'were afterwards converted into regular farms.'

In Strathspey in 1771 James Grant of Clury found himself short of summer grazing since the shielings of his wadset lands of Muckerach and Finlarig had been 'yielded to Sir Ludovick' some years earlier for improvement and his own shieling of Clury he claimed was 'subsett by me and labour'd by the possessor.'(103) Although abandoned as improvements many of these sites still stand out in the landscape as green patches selectively grazed by today's sheep and cattle.

The method of hill grazing under shieling transhumance did not, however, come to an end with the expansion of hill improvements and the later development of leased hill grazings. The plans of George Brown drawn between 1804 and 1813 indicate the continued existence of 33 shieling sites in the hills around the periphery of the estate.(Fig. 4.9) Twenty two of these were located in the remote pasture grounds beyond the Braes of Abernethy in the area of the Water of Caiplich, a part of the estate that was not, for reasons of access, settled by hill improvers.(Fig. 4.10) With the common pasture still largely undivided on the advice of George Brown, the shieling system was to linger on for another 50 years before its final demise in the face of hill sheep farm and deer forest in the 1860s.

Strathspey Shiellings, c.1810

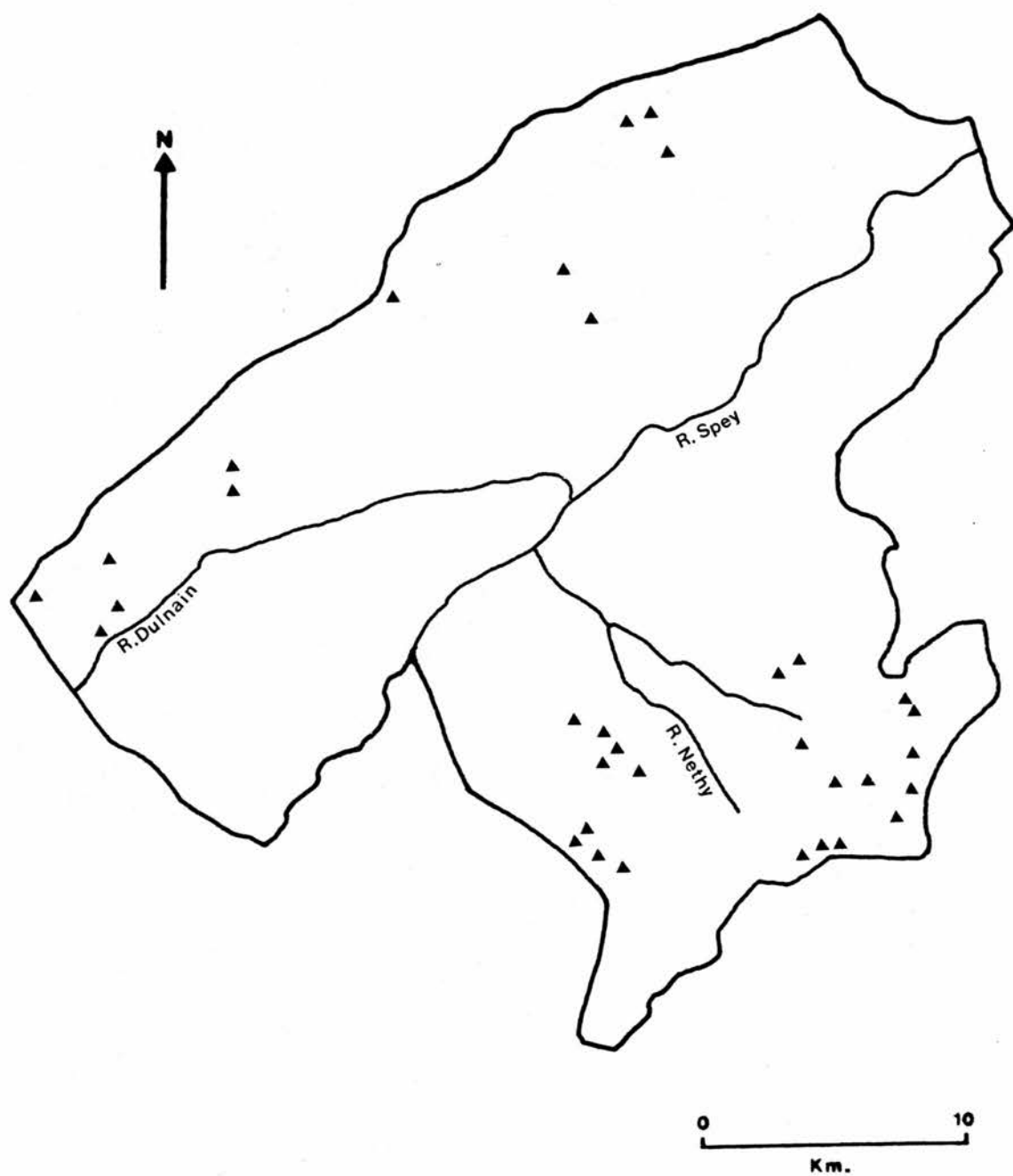
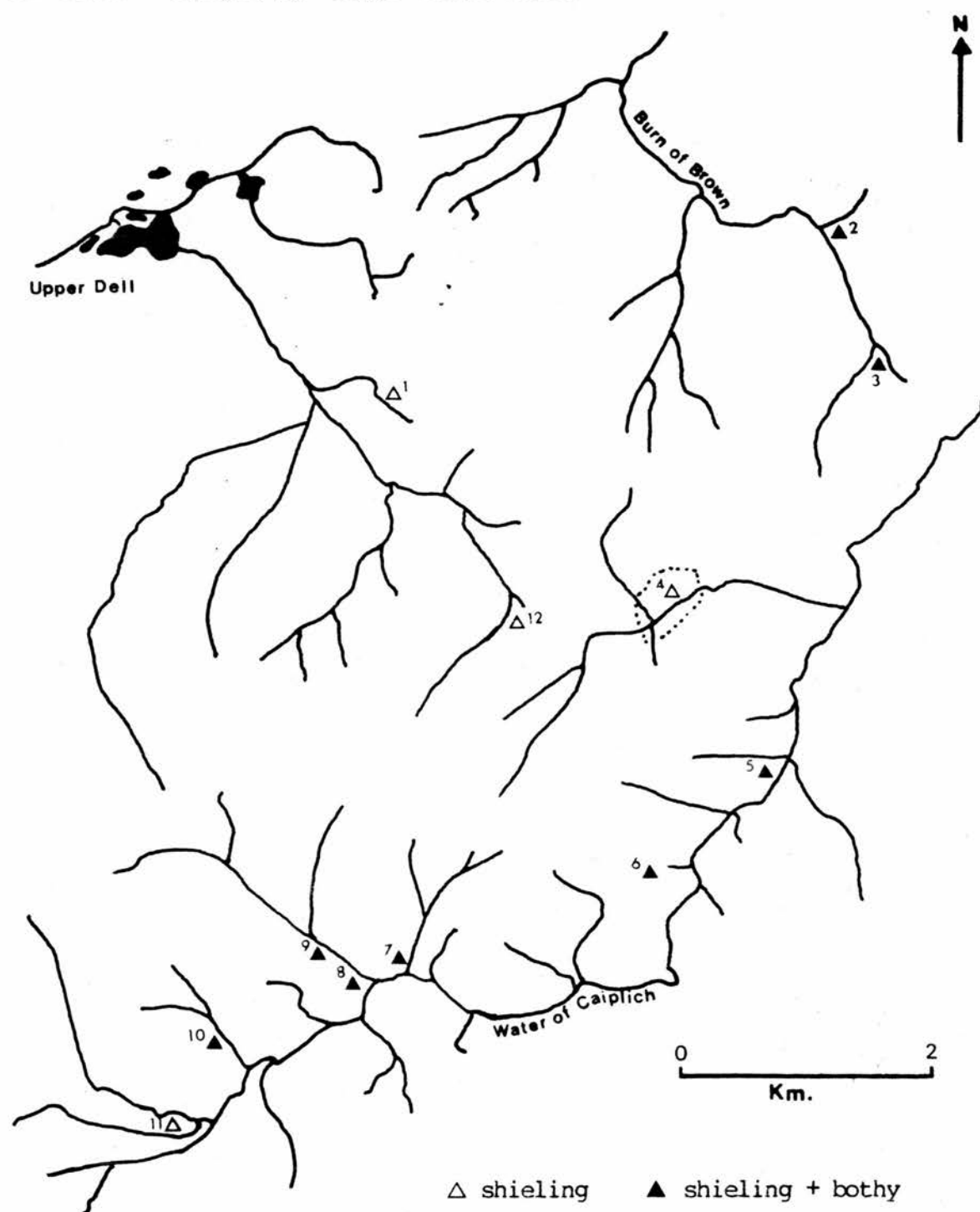


Figure 4.9

Figure 4.10 Abernethy Shielings on the Water of Caiplich and the Burn of Brown. Surveyed by George Brown, 1813.



Source: RHP 13944

1. Eskin 2. Corrlackick 3. Derkack 4. Slatich 5. Rue na Ruprich
 6. Rue Corrlechach 7. Rue Brechk 8. Rue Press Chon 9. (shealling)
 10. (shealling) 11. Straan More 12. Rue Sluggan na Cloich

Great Exertions in Agriculture.

In looking to the future during the early 1760s William Lorimer had appreciated the problem of pursuing a policy of arable improvement amongst a traditionally pastoral farming community, but he was optimistic that by and by improvements in pasture would allow more land to be made available for crop cultivation. This would be a gradual process but one that would lead to real wealth for both tenant and land owner alike as he explained:

I don't wonder that the present tenants complain of the improvements of the hills; 'tis a new thing to them. They have not so much room for pasture; their present ideas are confined to feeding cattle, but in a few years when they are obliged to till more ground and to till it better, less ground will maintain their cattle...Necessity will first make them apply to the raising of corne, and by degrees they'll find the advantage of it preferable to pasture and do it of choice. Hence it is probable the tenant will not be hurt and the master will have more rent and more tenants. And an increase of tenants will give more opportunity to form a town and raise manufacturers.(104)

Lorimer's vision of economic growth had been shared by Sir James Grant, but in his haste to extinguish his debts the Laird of Grant had tried to speed up the process by promoting arable cultivation, raising rents and establishing a planned village right from the start. A comparison of the estate plans of George Taylor in the 1770s and George Brown in the first decade of the 19th century in Abernethy Parish shows that during the 30 years between these surveys there had been an increase in arable land of only 204 Scots acres(105Ha.) from 2320 acres(1,193Ha.) to 2524 acres(1,298Ha.) - hardly the dramatic extension of cultivation that Sir James had envisaged. His impatience in raising the rents too fast coupled with incessant climatic problems had resulted in a decrease in the number of tenant holdings rather than an increase and the planned village that was to be the climax of

the whole evolutionary process did not achieve the manufacturing prominence that he had hoped for, largely because of poor access to markets and the local lack of interest in the textile industry.

By the first decade of the 19th century the view of Strathspey was one of mixed agricultural development. Robertson(1808) had noted the 'well-dressed fields' around Castle Grant and had commented on the contrast between the open field system in operation on many small farms and the farms where 'the land is enclosed and a neat steading set down for a substantial tenant.' In his opinion there was still plenty of scope for improvement in Strathspey where he reckoned the land owner could 'by encouraging and directing the inhabitants' provide 'for double the number...that are at present in the country.' Forsyth(1806) had observed that 'in Strathspey very great exertions in agriculture have in late years been made' principally in the area of field drainage, enclosure and the straightening of of ridges, but on croft holdings such as those on the Dava Moor, however, often 'the most miserable agriculture is necessarily found.' He too was of the opinion that great improvements could still be made not only in Strathspey but also throughout the whole of Inverness-shire.

Sir James had indeed attempted to encourage and direct the tenants of Strathspey by gaining more control over landholdings and by making conditions and meliorations an integral part of the written lease. The 'does and don'ts' of land management were firmly established in the estate regulations that were compiled in 1807 and later revised in 1852. Known locally as the 'Blue Book' the regulations were described by Somers(1846) rather cynically as a

'peculiar code of laws' that defined 'what the landlord may do and what the tenants may not do.' Nevertheless, the Blue Book made policy clear to the tenants as well as defining their rights in a more detailed form than was possible in the written lease. The object of establishing these rules and conditions was as Robertson suggested to encourage and direct the tenants in the process of improvement without the need for Sir James Grant to invest large sums of money which he could ill afford to do anyway. Farms such as Auchernack, Balliemore, Clury, Tullochgriban and Dalvey had been improved at great expense by principal tenants who were often closely related to the Laird. An inventory of the farm of Clury drawn up in 1806 illustrates the condition that had been reached on such property.(Appendix XLVII)

A comparison of farm surveys carried out in Abernethy Parish by George Taylor in 1772 and by George Brown in 1811-13 illustrates some of the more obvious changes that took place during that 40 year period. Although minor boundary changes, land drainage, new steadings and the extension of arable land had taken place to a limited extent, on the whole there is no great impression of radical change to the overall agricultural landscape.

A few farms, however, stand out as being markedly improved, a prominent example being the farm of Auchernack where fields were enlarged, enclosed and made rectangular, shelterbelts were planted, new farm buildings were set up and a garden was laid down by 1811.(Figs. 4.11 & 4.12)

Nearby, at Balliemore there is a good example of how the immediate vicinity of the farm was altered by the construction of new

buildings, by the creation of a new access road and by the use of quickset hedges and trees for additional enclosure and amenity value.(Figs. 4.13)

Elsewhere changes appear to be relatively minor. At Culriach, as a result of drainage, the fields were fewer and larger; at Ellaneorn, after extending the arable, the holding was separated from Dell and set as two holdings; and at Revack drainage had reduced the size of Loch Gorum enabling nearly 7 Scots acres(3.6Ha.) of ground to be reclaimed.

Some of the more substantial tenants had income from other sources such as army pensions and only looked to Sir James for help that was not of a financial nature. In pointing out the extent of improvements already carried out James Grant in Glenlochy, for example, asked in 1807 for a further 19 year lease of his farm in order to continue its improvement:

It has cost me a great deal of money since I came to it, I have brought it to a bearing it has not been at for many years back. It will admit of much improvement yet, and I will make improvement on it for my own good and the good of the farm, if you give me encouragement.(105)

Sir James did, however, give financial assistance where he thought the benefits would be widespread. In 1798 he looked favourably on the establishment of a threshing mill on the farm of Delay giving James Grant the farmer an allowance for the erection of the mill which would 'greatly lessen manual labour.' The fact that Grant found labour 'very difficult to be procured' anyway suggests that Lorimer's hope of an increasing tenantry had not yet materialised.(106)

By the time of Sir James Grant's death in 1811 real progress had only been made in the first phase of Lorimer's ideal pathway to economic growth. The improvement of inby grassland and the increased growth of winter fooder crops such as turnips had certainly helped to maintain large numbers of livestock and encourage the use of cultivation techniques, but arable land had not been turned over to grain crops, the labouring population had not risen dramatically and the manufacturing town had not become a great centre of industrial wealth. Rents were still largely paid from the sale of livestock rather than grain or manufactured products.

By the 1790s The initial enthusiasm of Sir James Grant as an improver had perhaps waned and his attentions were diverted to the raising of a local militia and a Strathspey Regiment, tasks which he relished alongside the prestigious position of Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire. John Kay's charicature of the rather pompous amateur soldier reviewing his volunteers illustrates the delight which Sir James took in presenting the image of a great leader in society.(107) In 1797 he wrote to his factor to say that he was in a 'constant hurry' because of 'the variety of county, regimental and private business' which left him barely a moment to spare on estate affairs.(108) This is not to say that his good improving intentions had entirely disappeared, for ten years later in the midst of George Brown's protracted survey of Strathspey he still had enough interest in the possiblity of improving individual farms to write:

...it is my intention to set Balintomb and probably Laggan to a tenant who will farm it thoroughly and improve the appearance of that part of the county.(109)

By making use of reliable professionals in the form of land surveyors, clerks and factors Sir James had been able to act as a catalyst to improvement and although many of the earlier dreams shared with William Lorimer did not come to fruition in his lifetime he could rest in the knowledge that as Robertson(1808) put it he was 'beloved to adoration by his people.'

The Farm of Auchernack
 Surveyed by George Taylor,
 1772

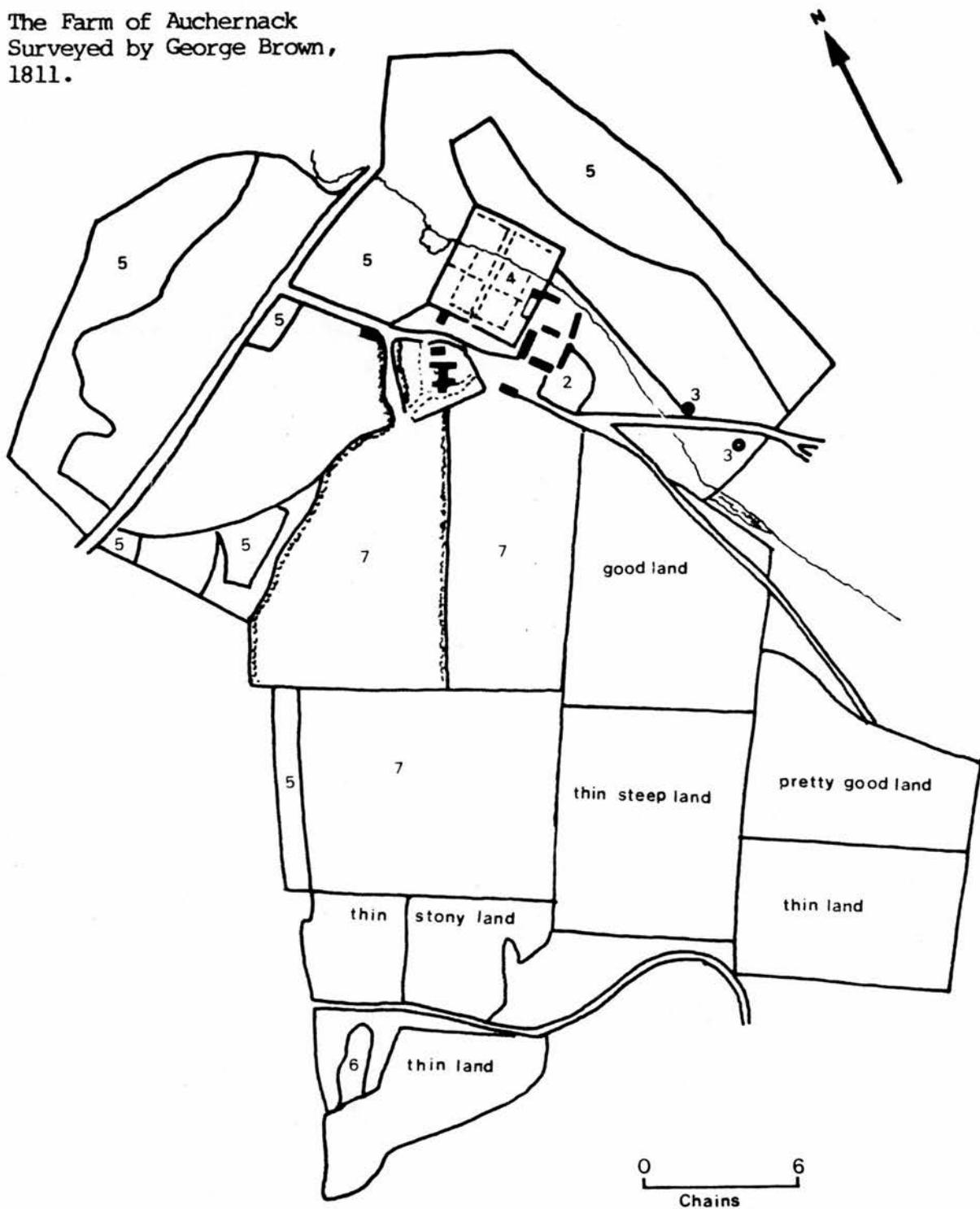


1. Brackenriach 2. Lagganbeg 3. Reanachrosk 4. Laganachy & Reaknochanbuie 5. Guilackmore 6. Guilackbeg 7. Guilack 8. Neuchack 9. Bruachbaan 10. Black Folds 11. White Folds 12. Low Folds 13. The Folds 14. Hard Fold 15. The Broom 16. Reinleish 17. Cutuck 18. Ballechork 19. grass

Source: RHP 3964/1

Figure 4.11

The Farm of Auchernack
 Surveyed by George Brown,
 1811.

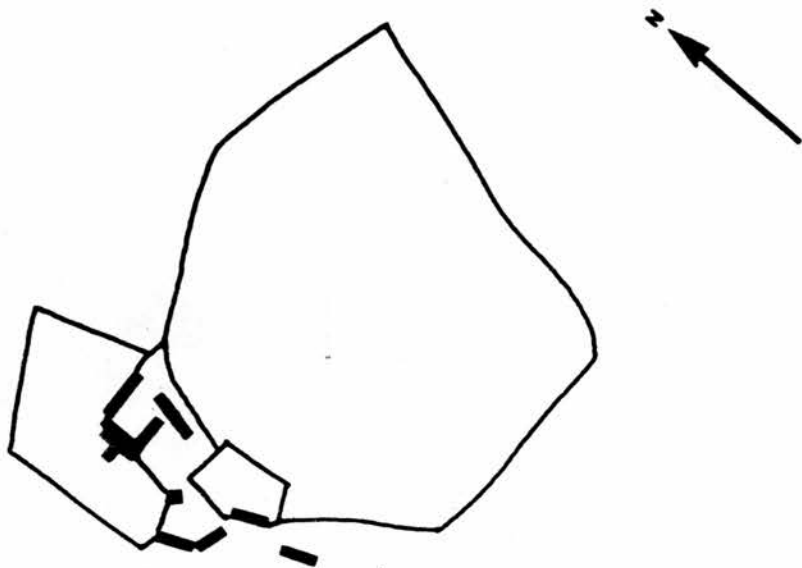


1. Offices 2. Corn yard 3. Limekiln 4. Garden 5. Plantation of
 Firwood 6. grass 7. Enclosures of fine land

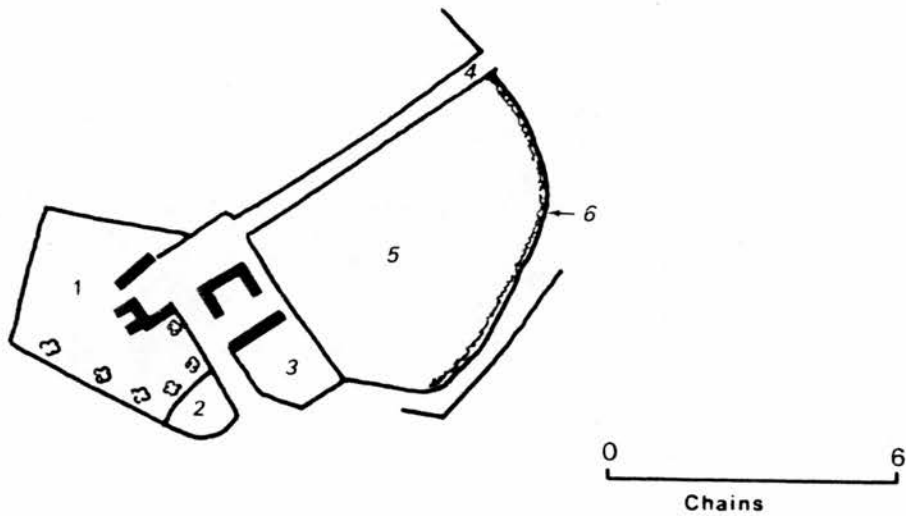
Source: RHP 13937

Figure 4.12

Balliemore Steading, 1772.



Balliemore Steading, 1811.



1. Garden 2. Peat yard 3. Corn yard 4. Road 5. Little Park
6. Quickset hedge

Sources: RHP 3964/1
RHP 13926

Figure 4.13

Chapter 5.

A Peripheral Estate: Land Use and Settlement, 1811-1870.

"Then Wha'll be Laird o' Grant".

The death of the 'Good Sir James' on 18 February 1811 was to close the door on the 18th century and to herald the beginning of a new era on the Strathspey Estate. From then on the relationship between landlord and tenant was to become more distant. Sir James was succeeded by his eldest son, Lewis Alexander Grant, but this was to be a relatively minor inheritance compared with that of the great Seafield estates and titles which also passed into his hands later in the same year on the death of his cousin, James, 7th Earl of Findlater and 4th Earl of Seafield. As 5th Earl of Seafield Lewis adopted the surname of Ogilvie but it was not his good fortune to be able to control the affairs of his vast property even though he lived to the age of 73.

On completing his education at Westminster and Edinburgh, Lewis Grant made a promising start to his career, being appointed Provost of Forres in 1788 and in the following year being called to the Scots Bar. A year later he was elected MP for Morayshire but in the summer of 1791 his future was shattered by an illness that was to leave him mentally incapable for the rest of his life. On 15 December 1795 Sir James Grant arranged that a trust disposition and settlement be made appointing 24 trustees to act for his son. This was done in view of his 'being deeply impressed with the afflicting situation of Lewis Alexander Grant....and the embarrassment that might ensue to the

affairs of my estate was the succession to open to him while in that situation and while my other sons next in succession are in minority or out of Britain.'(1)

Following the death of Sir James Grant the opinion of Matthew Ross, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, was taken on 19 April 1811, a move that resulted in all of the trustees resigning in favour of Colonel Francis William Grant who was appointed tutor-dative and administered the Seafield Estates as immediately younger surviving brother until his succession in October 1840.

While Lewis Alexander Grant-Ogilvie, 5th Earl of Seafield, retired with his sisters to Grant Lodge in Elgin Col. Francis Grant ran his estates from Cullen House, a building on which he was to expend a good deal of money. At the same time his attentions were directed towards the improvement of the harbours at Cullen and Portsoy on which it was reputed that over £17,000 was spent.(2) The Chiefs of Grant no longer lived at Castle Grant in the heart of Strathspey which now found itself on the fringe of a much larger property that extended from the Moray Coast to the highest peaks of the Grampian Uplands.

Col. Grant was to achieve greater fame as a planter of trees than as an improver of farm land, and for this he received a gold medal from the Highland Society. Between 1811 and 1847 it was estimated that some 8,223 acres(3,356Ha.) had been planted with fir trees throughout the Seafield Estates. From 1841, a year after succeeding as 6th Earl of Seafield, until his death in 1853 his attentions were diverted to the House of Lords where he sat as a representative peer - a loftier position that might have distanced landlord and tenant in

Strathspey even more were it not for his son, John Charles, being created 1st Baron Strathspey in 1855.(3)

Although a great planter of trees like his father the 7th Earl of Seafield was also an agriculturalist with a particular interest in cattle breeding. It was under his management that great changes were to take place in the agricultural landscape of Strathspey as both landlord and tenant took advantage of the last period of economic opportunity to present itself to the Highlands before the general agricultural depression of the 1870s and 1880s.

A Keener eye to Economy.

The spirit of improvement that had marked the lifetime of Sir James Grant was, for a while, to wane during the years following his death in 1811. Between that date and 1848 it was reckoned that only 'several hundred acres' had been added to the arable of Strathspey (4) - a small area when set against the land thought capable of improvement in the Parish of Cromdale alone. There the writer of the New Statistical Account (1841) estimated that 'above 1,000 acres might be added to the cultivated part of the parish with a profitable application of capital.'(5) The capital laid out on agriculture by the estate was, however, minimal - only £492, for example, being spent on essential river embankments and drainage between 1815 and 1845, a time when there were several major floods in the area. Meliorations for enclosure and improvement of tenant farms in the same period only amounted to £1,312 and the allowances paid out to tenants for improvements from 1819 at £5 per acre over and above meliorations was

not much more at £1,460.(6)

Not only direct investment but also the old style encouragement and direction of the tenants appears to be lacking, and this at a time when there were great possibilities for improvement especially with the passing of the Drainage Act in 1840 which made loans for improvement readily available throughout the country.(7) Somers(1977) was critical of the Seafield Estate management for not encouraging improvement or taking advantage of such loans, but there were individual circumstances of a purely local nature that made agricultural progress slow up until the early 1850s.

In itself the inheritance of the Seafield titles and property by the Grant family had distracted attention from the Strathspey Estate. The focal point had moved to the lowlands where the land owner now lived and where investment was directed towards seemingly more profitable commercial ventures such as the development of the harbours at Portsoy and Cullen. Strathspey was now a peripheral estate where greater returns could perhaps be gained by investment in forestry and sport rather than in farming. During the same period that only a few hundred acres of arable land were improved an estimated 3,000 acres(1,224Ha) were planted with trees on the Strathspey Estate and 143,000 acres(58,367Ha.) were let for grouse shooting during the summer months.

The legal complications of the trust under which Col. Grant managed the Seafield Estates on behalf of his insane brother the Earl of Seafield came to a head in 1831 as a result of difficulties experienced in borrowing money. Rumours had been spread about that

the estate was on the verge of bankruptcy and that Col. Grant was running affairs so as to benefit himself, a situation explained by John Fraser, the cashier at Cullen, to the Strathspey factor:

In addition to the story of Lord Seafield's insolvency, it has lately come to my knowledge that another report, equally false and groundless, has been got up in Morayshire to the effect that Col. Grant as Curator at Law for his brother Lord Seafield had no power to borrow money on the Earl's account, and consequently were the Colonel happening to die before his brother that his lordship's estates would not be liable for the money so borrowed as the Colonel's eldest son would (according to this doctrine) be able if he chose to take up the succession to his uncle Lord Seafield without recognising the debts and obligations contracted by his own father as curator...(8)

Col. Grant found it necessary on 11 November 1831 to obtain the opinion of the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates that his brother's estate would be validly charged with money he had borrowed as curator even if he predeceased his brother, thus putting an end to a rumour that had caused unnecessary financial difficulties for some time.(9)

With this problem resolved the way might have seemed clear for Col. Grant to have taken advantage of Peel's Drainage Act of 1840 to obtain favourable loans for land improvement, but this was not to be the case. Claims to the Inclosure Commissioners up to 5 March 1847 for the drainage of arable land in the north-east of Scotland reached a figure of £388,122 10s. but not a penny was claimed for Strathspey where drainage and flood control were vital elements of land improvement. The main reason for this was the advice given by John Grant of Congash, the Strathspey factor, whose opinion was sought as to the value of making a claim for Strathspey. John Fraser at Cullen reported that the Duke of Gordon had made a claim under the Drainage Act for £30,000 hoping that 'something of the same thing will be done by the Earl of Seafield on the Strathspey Estate.' In asking the advice of Grant of Congash, however, he expressed some reservations:

My mind is not entirely made up on the subject because the percentage is unquestionably a heavy burden in the meanwhile being 6.5% on the money received for twenty two years while the benefit is not quite so certain in every instance. I dare say in many cases it may be really beneficial by the improvements doing more than paying themselves within the period specified, but I am not without my fears that in other instances the returns reasonably to be expected would not do this...(10)

John Grant of Congash successfully convinced both Col. Grant and John Fraser that such a claim would in fact be of little long term advantage on the Strathspey Estate:

...I beg to say that I have given my best consideration to the Government Loan under the Drainage Act and cannot bring myself to believe but it must ultimately prove injurious to proprietors and ruinous to many a tenant. In the first instance the proprietor from the date of grant of the loan is bound for paying the interest for a period of 22 years whether he be remunerated by the tenants or not, and for the first 3 years he can have no recourse against the tenants for say part of interest as in less time a crop cannot be expected from new drain'd or trench'd ground and in many parts a poor subject to afford 6.½ per cent and more particular in such as Strathspey so subject to frosts and inundations, it is my belief that the men of this Country would not apply themselves to such work and as a proof last season when Grantown moss was in progress there were only two or three men who applied to engage altho the contractor was ready to employ a considerable number of them, many of the men of this county are tradesmen that will not engage in such work and many of the most active are employed in protecting the game and others in manufacturing and floating timber and besides employing the whole working class would prove hurtfull to the tenants in general depriving them of hands to manage their green crop and casting and procuring fuel etc. so that under all circumstances and consideration am no advocate for the Government Loan coming to Strathspey where Earl of Seafield's present system for Improvement succeed well, during the ensuing season there will be more work in operation than hands to execute.(11)

Grant of Congash was an 'antiquated agriculturalist...of a very old school'(12) who had started out as factor of the Lower Strathspey Collection in 1815 in succession to John Fraser. he worked with Robert Lawson of Balliemore, factor of the Upper Strathspey Collection, until the factory was once more united in 1818 when he became Strathspey factor until his retiral in 1849. During that period his main concern was to see that the regulations in the 'Blue

Book' were carried out to the letter and that as little expense as possible was incurred by the Earl of Seafield in Strathspey.

The 1807 estate regulations required that tenants wishing to make improvements for which compensation would eventually be payable could only carry out the work 'with the approbation, in writing of Sir James Grant, or his foresaids, or their factor.' There were some who improved land without approval but when it came to claiming allowances they were usually unlucky as in the case of Forsyth in the Dell where improvements were carried out on land described in 1843 by George McWilliam the land surveyor as 'not worth cultivating.' (Appendix XLVIII)

John Grant of Congash as factor was certainly not the improving enthusiast and empiricist that James Macgregor had been and the enterprise of tenant farmers was often quashed by lack of support. The tenants of Delnabo, wishing to clear, enclose and cultivate 8 acres of decaying birch wood, complained directly to the Seafield Estate cashier in 1834 that:

We have often applied to the factor for leave to improve it but he has always put off coming to see it, and giving us leave, though he frequently promised to come and look at it. (13)

Similarly, an application in June 1837 by Mr. Christie in the farm of Balliemore for a loan of £60 to £80 at 5% interest to help him build a threshing mill was not greeted with any enthusiasm by the factor who wrote disapprovingly to John Fraser:

Mr. Christie told me he had forwarded such an application the prayer of which in my opinion ought not to be complied with, as forming a precedent for the whole county to look to the proprietor for supplying the tenants with threshing mills, exposed of course to all floods and at times swept away, when he assured the entire loss would fall on the proprietor, so that it would be better to meliorate

a tenant to a certain extent for erecting a mill than advance the money and even that would be establishing a new rule in the county.(14)

Tenants in many cases were keen to improve land but there was often no hope of recovering the expense in the form of meliorations or allowances because of the cautious and intractable nature of John Grant of Congash. Somers(1977), perhaps overcritically and certainly from a committed viewpoint, commented on him during the last year of his factory pointing out 'what a heavy drag he must be upon the wheels of improvement,' claiming that 'a written authority from the factor of Strathspey Estate to improve, is about as difficult to obtain as a ticket of admission to the presence-chamber of the Grand Turk.'(15) All that tenant farmers such as James Cameron in Croftnahaven were lacking was a 'little encouragement to improve or farm the place as he would otherwise do.'(16)

Meliorations and the £5 per acre improvement allowance were only payable at the end of a lease and could only be considered an encouragement if the tenant was to leave the farm. Naturally, many tenants wished to continue in the farm on which they had expended capital on improvements and could therefore not take advantage of these supposed financial benefits. As far as meliorations were concerned it was the incoming tenant who was to carry the cost any way, as John Fraser made clear in a letter to the Strathspey factor following the setting of the farm of Mid Anagach to Robert Grant in 1817:

...you will see he was obliged to free and relieve the Heritor of all meliorations due to the outgoing tenant, a clause that should be insisted in every agreement where it possibly can, as otherwise the proprietor will be burdened sooner or later with every house and dyke on the estate...(17)

From that time every effort was made by the estate personnel to reduce to a minimum the financial liability of the Earl of Seafield for agricultural development. That improvements were not completely lacking is shown by the record of allowances and meliorations and the evidence of tenant farmers themselves. J. Gordon, the tenant farmer at Revack was keen to have a reduction in his rent which he reckoned was excessive. Improvements at his own expense had been considerable and if a reduction were not given he would be forced to leave as he explained to the factor:

...I have no wish whatever to give up, or leave Revack, far from it, but you know, that since I entered with the farm in May 1819 I have done everything in my power to improve the land in the best possible manner, by lime, manure, and drainage etc., but notwithstanding all this from the high, cold and north easterly exposure, it has seldom or ever produced crops to clear itself.

You can also mention to Colonel Grant that I have expended a very considerable sum in building additional houses etc.(18)

Gordon had not put the Earl of Seafield to any expense and in this rare instance his petition was looked upon favourably by John Grant of Congash who was impressed by the fact that he was 'a man strongly attached to the Grant family.' The factor advised the cashier that 'it would in a degree be against the interest of any proprietor parting with such a respectable tenant,' and with some reluctance admitted that 'I fear it must be allowed that he pays more than adequate value for his possessions, for sustaining all interest, for biggings and new improved land.'(19)

The continued though limited process of improvement made by the tenant farmers in the face of minimal encouragement and the meagre investment by the estate in agriculture between 1811 and 1850 was much

later, in December 1874, to be recognised by William Bryson who had for some years been cashier on the Seafield Estates. Earlier he had been factor on the Strathspey Estate between 1849 and 1854, and looking back over that period he frankly acknowledged the shortcomings of the estate management with regard to agricultural improvement:

With regard to improvement on the estates generally there is no reason for asserting that there was unnecessary or extravagant expenditure under the Trust (1811-1840) - quite the reverse - for the estate could not possibly have been managed with a keener eye to economy. The writer can state from experience of the Estate of Strathspey and Cullen that prior to the succession of the present Earl (in 1853) little or no money had been expended in improving or embellishing the estate. All the steadings in the Cullen district with the exception of two were in a ruinous state and no money had been laid out in drainage. In fact it is difficult to imagine an estate handed over from father to son in a more miserable condition or one on which so little had been done to keep up things in a proper state. The Strathspey estate was much in the same condition.(20)

A Trusty and Practical Agriculturalist.

That there had been so little agricultural improvement on the Strathspey Estate since the death of Sir James Grant was a fact not merely acknowledged in retrospect by an estate employee in the 1870s. In the 1840s the 6th Earl of Seafield had observed for himself the poor condition of the agricultural landscape. Whilst travelling north to Cullen through Strathspey in the early summer of 1847 Lord Seafield had been 'greatly disappointed and struck....by the inferior appearance of many of the Strathspey possessions, as to cultivation and improvement compared with every district he had been in the course of his journey.'(21) He had been particularly unimpressed by the state of farms around Aviemore and was anxious that something should be done at the next letting of the farms which would fall in the autumn of that year.(22)

With this in mind Lord Seafield had asked Peter Brown of Linkwood near Elgin to visit Strathspey to look over the farms. Brown was a skilled agriculturalist and an able successor to his father, the ubiquitous George Brown who had been employed as a land surveyor on the Strathspey Estate forty years earlier. The Earl was anxious that:

...the farms should be looked over in order that the marches and mode of management etc. may be well considered, and such improvement as they are susceptible of pointed out and fixed.

A report was expected from Brown by September 1847 giving him only 3 months to carry out a rapid survey of the estate. Compared with the 10 year survey of George Brown, Peter Brown's work could only involve a cursory examination of the farms out of lease without any attempt to produce a new set of detailed plans. Throughout his farm survey, therefore, he made extensive use of his father's 1804-13 estate plans which had been copied for reference by Alexander Duncan at the request of the Seafield Estate cashier in April 1842.(23)

During the late summer of 1847 Peter Brown pressed on with the survey of Strathspey, observing as he went some good crops and excellent turnips and potatoes. By 18 September he had completed his report well on time and sending it to the Earl of Seafield he commented that he had 'recommended several important changes in the present system which... would tend to the improvement of the country and add to the comfort and prosperity of the tenantry.' The recommendations that Brown made can be summarised under four headings:

- (1) Enlargement of farm holdings.
- (2) Straightening of farm boundaries.
- (3) Reduction of common pasture.
- (4) Depasturing of the pine forest.(24)

The size of farm holdings, particularly with respect to arable land, was seen by Brown as an important element in efficiency of production and utilisation of labour. Both crofts and large farms he reckoned were efficient means of farm production but not the medium sized farm with only about 20 acres of arable as he explained to Lord Seafield:

...I am actuated with a strong conviction that there ought to be no possession in extent between the mere croft of 2 or 3 acres and the farm containing as much tillage land as will at all times afford labour for two men and one pair of horses and this in Strathspey I would fix at between 35 and 45 acres.

...the croft is a house to his wife and his family affording them many conveniences and comforts, which without it, would not be within their reach. The small farmer occupying some 18 or 20 acres of land from not having sufficient employment and at the same time enough to provide him from seeking work at a distances makes the tillage of this farm his sole occupation whereby his pair of horses and himself are lying half the time idle.

Although some farms increased in size by direct acquisition of land from the common pasture a few were amalgamated where Brown thought a more efficient unit of production could be created. Sometimes, however, his opinions did not concur with those of the tenant farmers. In attempting to attach the farm of Balnacruie to Balvattan in the Davoch of Tullochgorm John Macgregor in Balvattan declared his opposition stating that 'he had no wish whatever in turning any poor family out of what they were in possession of for upward of sixty years.'⁽²⁵⁾ Similarly in Ouchnoire nearby John Grant the tenant farmer did not think he could cope with the addition of the adjacent holding as well as his own.⁽²⁶⁾

Straight marches between farms were a rarity in Strathspey, largely because of the nature of the terrain, but Peter Brown believed

that where possible a better alignment of the marches would facilitate the laying down of regularly enclosed fields and hence the use of proper rotations:

In the process of my inspection I have observed many of the marches crooked and intricate to a very great degree. This to a person unacquainted with laying out land may appear of little importance but I can assure your Lordship that it is of the utmost consequence, and unless the boundaries between the respective farms are (where practicable) made regular and straight the farms and the fields will never be laid out as they ought to be, or have the appearance of improved cultivation.

As an example he pointed out the 'well arranged and properly laid off' farms at Curr some of which had been set out as allotments by his father. Despite some possessions there being too small he noted that:

The tenantry have availed themselves of this advantage and their lands will be found better laid out and farmed with more regard to regular rotation of crops than any in the district...(27)

As a result of this advice many of the farms out of lease in 1847 had their boundaries realigned, much to the annoyance of John Grant the factor who thought this an unnecessary exercise. Writing on the eve of his retiral to the cashier at Cullen he vented his frustration at all the bother this entailed being 'sadly annoyed with flittings and altering of marches every day going from place to place trying to reconcile them but which I believe can never be done.'(28) Even amongst the tenants not everyone was happy about the changes being made to farm boundaries. James Russell in Delliefure, for example, wrote directly to the Earl of Seafield 'very much annoyed to see that Knockankist is to have so much of the best pasture of his farm joined to it.'(29) The changes brought about by Peter Brown were obviously a source of annoyance to tenant and factor alike.

The Aviemore farms that had given the Earl of Seafield so much displeasure with the consequent employment of Peter Brown are an example of how farm boundaries were reorganised. The marches between the six lots were straightened on the tenants being granted new 19 year leases, these boundaries extending directly on to hill grazings that had formerly been held in common. The farm boundaries as drawn by George Brown in 1809 were highly irregular, taking into account the natural lie of the land with its patchwork of arable, moor and wooded land.(Fig.5.1) A later plan drawn in 1861 by George Mackay shows the way in which the boundaries had been straightened regardless of terrain, how an area of pasture had been added for their use on the hillside above and the way in which part of the common pasture on the lower ground had been added to lot no.1.(Fig.5.2) No sheep were to be kept on these farms and the small area of attached hill pasture was only to be let on a year to year basis and made available for planting if required.

The division of common grazings was seen to be of value to both tenant and landlord alike and was the most important recommendation that Brown was to make:

Abolition of all common pasturages near the arable land, by giving each possession a proportion of the muir or pasture lands next adjoining them, to be held exclusively by the respective tenants with the understanding that they shall yield up the whole or any part of the muirs if your Lordship should determine to plant them.

In a later letter, however, he warned that divisions might be controversial amongst the tenants recommending that the estate should 'guard against any disputes with tenants who may have existing leases in regard to the division of commons.'(30)

Figure 5.1 Aviemore Lots, 1809
 Surveyed by George Brown.

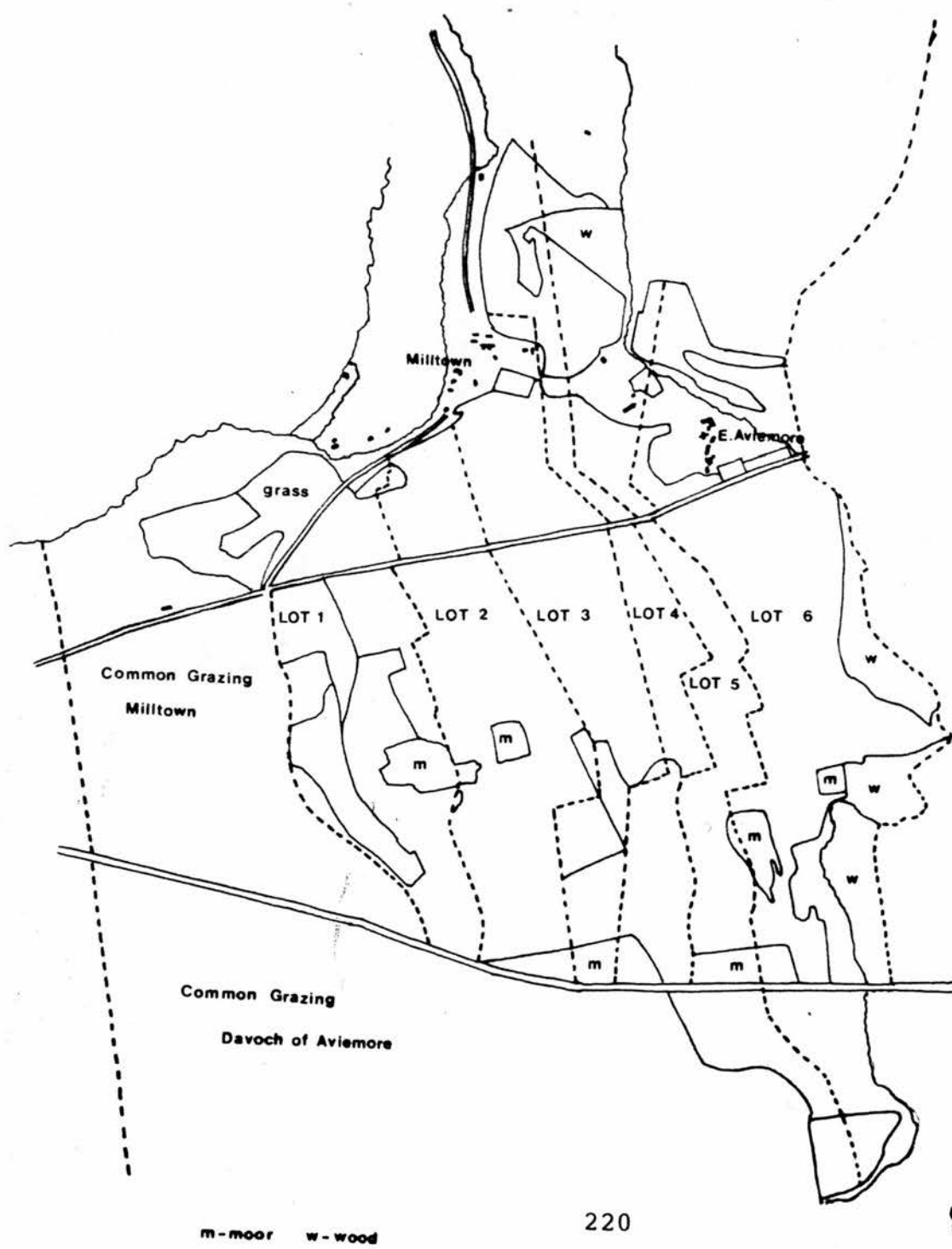
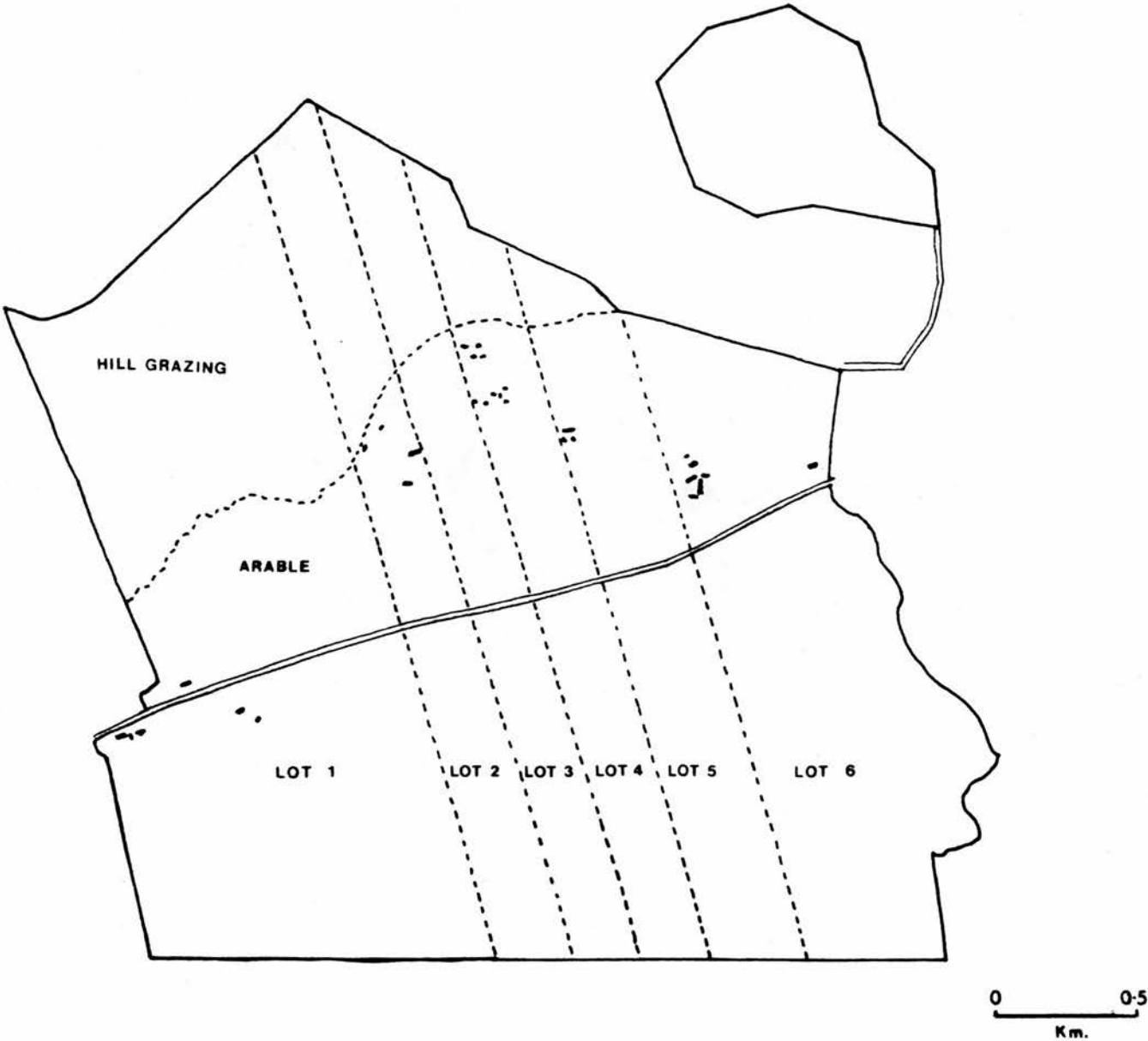


Figure 5.2 Aviemore Lots 1860
Surveyed by George G. Mackay.



The addition of exclusive grazing to individual farms from the common pasture was, nevertheless, a popular move with a number of tenants ranging from the crofter to the larger tenant farmer. Work was not always 'easy to be obtained' and with the failure of the potato crop in the previous year there was a good deal of hardship amongst the labourers and cottars. In September 1847 twenty one of them in the Barony of Cromdale put their names to a petition sent to the Earl of Seafield asking for allotments in 'the commonty' which they were 'ready to improve' at a reasonable rent to support themselves and their families.(31) Two years later, in 1849 there were still labourers in search of employment. David and Lewis McDonald were two such men who wrote to the factor to ask for permission to settle on the common grazing at the foot of the Cromdale Hill on a former improvement that had reverted to pasture. This common grazing had been attached to Lethendy but as neither of the tenant farmers there kept any sheep on this ground the McDonalds looked on it as a useful means 'for the support of our families.'(32)

While Peter Brown was busy reorganising the farms out of lease A. McBean, the tenant in Auchterblair sent a memo to Lord Seafield. He was keen to continue improving his farm but asked for help in the form of advice on drainage and cultivation by a 'trusty and practical agriculturalist' and an exclusive share in the neighbouring common pasture.(Appendix XLIX)

Once the process of allocation of exclusive grazings from the common pasture had begun tenants were anxious to make sure that they had their fair share. This is demonstrated by the nature of the petition submitted by Alexander Calder in Easter Crannich in December

1849:

That all his neighbours have a very considerable extent of pasture to which they claim an exclusive right besides the common - that he has no such privilege except the common beyond the dyke of his farm. That there is a considerable extent of common including a burn and meadow quite adjacent to the farm and contiguous to none else and by adding the same to the said farm it would be a great advantage to him without loss to any other person.(33)

Over the next 20 years with the setting of farms common grazings nearest to the arable land were divided and individual farms received more exclusive pasture. By 1867 there were remaining only 21 areas of common pasture covering an area of 19,815 acres(8,083Ha) shared by 62 farm holdings some of which still claimed a right to use the upper glens for summer pasture in the traditional way.(Appendix L) This represents a considerable reduction in the extent of common grazings since the days of George Brown who had not himself been in favour of dividing up the common pasturage.

Peter Brown's final recommendation that sheep should be excluded from the pine forest was principally aimed at reducing the potential conflict between grazing and the now important sectors of forestry and sport. The woods had traditionally been used chiefly in the winter months to provide sheltered grazing for sheep, goats, cattle and horses but Brown predicted that before long 'the pine will disappear altogether.' He also recognised the sporting potential of the upper pine woods knowing that the forest was the natural habitat of the red deer:

Were the Forests of Duthil and Abernethy cleared of stock and the woods laid more quiet and private than they are at present deer would take to them in great numbers more especially the former which would make an excellent small forest and I have not a doubt but the Forest of duthil managed in this way together with the grouse shootigs in the Bridge of carr District would yield your Lordship £500 per annum.(34)

He was not only advocating the exclusion of livestock from the forest but also for good measure 'the removal of sheep from all the farms lying contiguous to the Pine Forests.' In doing this he was hoping to put an end to the 'wintering of lambs the property of the great flock masters in Badenoch or elsewhere.' The taking in of livestock or 'gall' cattle from other areas had for many years been prohibited, being thought detrimental to the pasture,(35) but the extensive wintering capacity of Strathspey had always been recognised by the tenants who were keen to make use of all available grazing resources including the pine woods. Several years later in the autumn of 1855 the Strathspey factor, referring to Brown's recommendation, claimed that he found it impossible to enforce but added that 'if the ground is to be enclosed there can be no objection raised.'(36)

For several years Peter Brown continued to be associated with Strathspey helping to resolve the altercations between tenant and estate management as his proposals were put into practice. Despite all of this he was optimistic of the ability of the tenant farmers to make progress on their own account. His parting comments in April 1851 whilst being complimentary to the tenant betrayed a feeling of doubt as to the capabilities of landowners as a whole to 'encourage and direct' their tenantry:

All Highlanders with whom I have come in contact, have much the same failing but truly the Strathspey folks are more than a match for most other people. And I am sorry to think that those whose duty it is to lead them in the right path are the worst of the lot...(37)

The Last of the Land Surveyors.

The Changes brought about by Peter Brown from 1847 acted as a stimulus to agricultural development in Strathspey, giving the tenant farmer the much-needed encouragement to extend his improvements more rapidly than in the previous 30 years. With the end of Col. Grant's curatory of the estate on the death of Lord Seafield in 1840 and with the retiral of John Grant of Congash as factor in 1849 there were now few impediments to farm improvement. The factors of Strathspey that followed - William Bryson, Col. Dixon and John Smith - were all professional managers of land without any sentimental attachments or links with the Grant family to bind them to the past. Their prime concern as full-time employees was the running of the estate business to ensure that the landowner received adequate returns from the land and that capital expenditure was directed towards enhancing the estate infrastructure and encouraging efficient use of resources.

To this end the services of a land surveyor were once more to be employed. In 1856 George Mackay, a land surveyor and land agent from Inverness, began a detailed survey of the farms in Strathspey with the aim of assessing and recording the changes that had already taken place and of recommending and seeing through future improvements. After a period of absence from the estate in 1857 and 1858 he returned to take up a salaried position as surveyor for 11 years during which time he drew 75 detailed plans of the Strathspey Estate and reported on each individual farm. Much of his earlier work had centred on the county of Inverness where between 1849 and 1857 he had carried out surveys at Glenurquhart, Glenmoriston, Culloden, Moy, Kilmonaivag, Guisachan, Braefield and Millburn.(38) On the Strathspey Estate he was to earn between 1856 and 1869 a total income of £3,726 8s. 7d.

(39)

In 1858 he published a collection of papers that had appeared in the Inverness Courier entitled 'On the Management of Landed Property in the Highlands of Scotland.' He believed that there were tens of thousands of acres of improveable waste ground in the Highlands that 'might be increased from twenty to forty fold in value in 25 years.' This could only be done, however, if tenant farmers were given enough freedom and security in the investment of capital in agriculture. As far as he was concerned the fewer restrictions there were the better and with an eye to the Strathspey 'Blue Book' that had been revised 6 years earlier he commented:

...to lie a man down with a set of antiquated regulations - perhaps framed by our grandfathers - is to put a stop to progress, and discourage exertion and experiment.

The only rules he thought necessary were those that laid down a specified rotation during the last 5 years of a lease and the condition in which land was to be left on removal. Similarly, he disapproved of meliorations which he believed were a drain on tenants capital and of the £5 per acre allowance which was of little use if tenants had to wait 19 years or more for payment, or if 5% was added by way of interest to the rent. He used the Seafield Estates as a prime example of how improvement was slow using these methods which he described politely as 'a fair arrangement but not productive of the result that might be anticipated.'

Like Peter Brown, George Mackay was in favour of large or small farm holdings but not those of intermediate size. He pointed out the process then taking place on the Sutherland Estate where townships had 50 years earlier been turned into large sheep farms but were 'now

being gradually cut up again.' The smaller farmer had the advantage of his crops and his cattle being tended by members of the family with little need to expend a great deal on fencing. The competition between smaller farms was seen as a point in their favour whereas an increase in their size with only limited capital would only serve to reduce the competitive element. Since the larger farmer required a greater labour force at seed time, at harvest and to export his produce as well as a greater expense in drainage and enclosure he was of the opinion that:

In all the upland districts of the County of Inverness, for instance, extending from within five miles of Inverness, through Strathnairn, Strathdearn, and Badenoch, small farms must be the rule, large ones the exception.

During the entire period of George Mackay's survey of the Strathspey Estate improvements gradually gained momentum. The estate ledgers indicate the improvements that had been made by tenants and the dramatic increase in direct investment by the Earl of Seafield during the 1850s and 1860s. Table 5.1 illustrates the growing sums of money paid out for the improvement of river embankments, in meliorations, in allowances and by way of loans to tenants for improvements to steadings and waste land during the 30 year period 1815-45 and, by comparison, during the 12 year period 1854-65. Building and repairing embankments on the Rivers Spey and Dulnain in that 12 year period at £2,703 18s. 6d. was more than five times the amount spent during the 30 years between 1815 and 1845.(40) Similarly, the amount of money lent to tenant farmers in the two-year period 1864-65 - a figure of £1,568 9s. 8d. at 6.5% interest, was in excess of the total figure paid out in allowances and loans during the same 30 years. Expenditure on buildings (£11,871), drainage (£2,643),

fencing (£384) and roads (£2,271) also represented a sizeable investment in Strathspey during the 1854-65 period. This was indeed a new era of agricultural improvement.

Table 5.1

Strathspey Estate Improvement Allowances, Meliorations and Expenditure on River Embankment.

	1815-45			1854-65		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Allowances	1,460	19	5	5,819	11	8
Meliorations	1,312	10	8	4,180	19	0
Embankments	492	3	11	2,763	18	6

Sources: Strathspey Factory Accounts 1815-45 and General Ledgers 1854-65.

In 1867, just prior to the next major resetting of tenant farms, George Mackay completed his Strathspey farm reports.(41) The agricultural scene he had surveyed had been a mixed one ranging from farms such as Garvald that were 'well managed and thoroughly improved' to the nearby Ardbeg where management by an 80 year old tenant was 'of the worst possible description.'

On farms like Ballinluig he was able to record the work that Peter Brown had carried out during the previous lease noting:

...new marches have been laid off for this farm allocating a portion of the old commonity into it as exclusive pasture.

Further west, however, but still in the parish of Abernethy at E. Tomdhu there was a different state of affairs:

All the district from here through Garten to the march of the Estate is in utter confusion: as to the marches no change having been made by Mr. Brown at the last letting - new marches have been now laid off for all these farms as was urgently desired by the tenants themselves.

Mackay continued from where Brown had left off, reorganising farms, straightening marches and extending the process of dividing up the common pasture. Preferring to keep farms as compact as possible

he would divide or amalgamate where appropriate. At Balnafettach, which he described as 'widely scattered' and containing a 'large extent of improveable land, which is quite impossible for the tenant to reclaim,' he advised a division of the holding into two, letting the outer half as a separate farm. At Balvattan in Cromdale Parish he proposed a straight line separation from the farm of Upper Balnacruie, the Balvattan holdings being 'very irregularly bounded and so intermixed with the adjoining farms as to be incapable of being properly enclosed.' Mackay believed that farm steadings where possible should be near to the centre of the farm and that as far as the shape of farms was concerned:

...the nearer the form of the square can be attained the better; and where two or more long narrow pieces of land are in separate possessions they should be united.

The amalgamation of farms such as Culnafia and Lainchoil in Abernethy Parish was proposed with a better boundary line in mind as was the division of Ouchnoire and Balvattan which 'instead of being cut up in the most confused and unsightly manner' would make Ouchnoir 'nearly a rectangle and one of the most desirable farms in the district.'

Where necessary Mackay believed that the estate should encourage improvement by granting loans at a rate of 6½% interest. On farms such as Deldow where the land would be 'so easily reclaimed by ploughing, and will after cropping and liming be greatly more valuable' he suggested that the tenant farmer 'be bound to plough it at his own expense.' But at Dalvey where he reckoned there were just under 290 acres (118Ha.) of improveable land he expected the estate to advance money for the costly operation of drainage. Dalvey, which had

formerly been one of the best managed farms on the estate, was then 'in a state of utter neglect,' it being 'impossible to conceive of any place in a more ruinous condition than this entire occupancy.' Although the tenant was to plough, drive material and remove stones at his own expense he argued that it would be worth lending a total of £2,150 - £1,200 for trenching 100 acres(41Ha.) at £12 per acre and £950 for draining 190 acres(77Ha.) at £5 per acre.

The process of dividing up the common pasture continued with George Mackay. For example, 976 acres(398Ha.) formerly held in common were attached to Advie as exclusive pasture but only on a year to year lease since part of it seemed 'well adapted for planting' and 'could be taken by the proprietor at any time for this purpose.' Not all of the common pasture, however, was divided in this way. The farm of Toperfettle, formerly held by Allan and John Grant at a rent of £12 10s. was to have its arable land divided but the small range of hill pasture amounting to just over 53 acres(22Ha.) was to be held in common by the two tenants. This was, all the same, to be the exception rather than the rule as portions of the old common grazings further from the farm steadings were gradually allocated to farms as exclusive grazing in a process that was, in this case, agreeable to both tenant and landlord alike.

The survey of George Mackay was to be the last in a sequence of great estate surveys carried out by eminent Scottish land surveyors. The days of the traditional land surveyor were numbered as estate employees received training in management, as advice became more freely available from government agencies and as maps became cheaper with the publication of Ordnance Survey maps at various scales.

The Last of the Summer Shielings.

The traditional patterns of summer and winter grazing that had evolved over many generations in Strathspey had been altered in the first instance during the 1750s and 1760s by the settlement of hill improvers who often occupied former shieling sites or at any rate attempted to cultivate some of the better grazing spots. In the years that followed, as tenants tried to regain control of the diminished pasture a system of leased hill farms replaced the free use of common grazings and summer shielings. What had been an almost limitless resource showed signs of over-utilisation by the beginning of the 19th century, a situation reflected by an ever-increasing number of conflicts between grazing tenants who endlessly petitioned the estate management complaining either of inadequate quantities of pasture for their own stock or of overstocking by their neighbours. The problem was one of increasing numbers of livestock over a decreasing summer grazing range.

An expanding population had inevitably added to the volume of beasts being grazed on the common pasture but of more significance than this was the growth in the size of sheep stocks being held by individual tenants, a growth that had only been made possible by the improvements made to inby grass land and by the ability to grow more winter fodder crops. Sheep and wool prices had risen rapidly and trade was enhanced in the north with the opening of the Inverness Market in 1817. Thereafter, steady price rises were recorded although there were occasional sharp declines as in 1842 when the price of

sheep dropped by 2 to 4 shillings.(Table 5.2)

Table 5.2
Sheep Prices: Inverness Market, 1821-44.

	<u>1821</u>	<u>1824</u>	<u>1828</u>	<u>1834</u>	<u>1840</u>	<u>1844</u>
Cheviot widders	18/6	15/-	23/9	26/6	28/6	23/6
Cheviot ewes	7/-	8/-	13/6	16/9	19/-	13/-
Black face widders	14/-	11/6	16/6	19/-	18/9	17/-
Black face ewes	5/9	6/6	9/6	11/6	11/6	8/6

Source: Barron (1913).

The pressure of increasing sheep stocks can be gauged by petitions such as that of James Grant in Glenloch who complained in October 1803 that Mr. Lawson of Balliemore and his subtenant in the hill farm of Rynacattanach were overgrazing with sheep the common pasture at Dirdhu as well as encroaching on the pasture of Glenloch. He estimated that there were 'ten times at least the number the Derrydow can carrie'(42) but two years later with the problem still unresolved he quoted to the factor a more precise figure of 'upwards of seven score' being pastured by Peter Grant in Rynacattanach on behalf of Balliemore whose spring grazing flock at Dirdhu appeared 'as thick as the snowflakes.'(43)

Over 50 years later in 1856 there were still arguments as to the number of sheep being grazed on common pastures. In that year, for example, J. Allan in Tomdow complained that the pasture was 'selfishly eaten up by our neighbour on the eastside'(44) and this was despite the fact that by the 1850s overgrazing had caused the estate management to introduce a regulation limiting the number of sheep hefted on the common pasture to 5 per £1 of rent paid. This measure had in fact been requested by Mr. Bass the shooting tenant on the Carr Bridge range where the sheep stocks were reckoned to be too large and

muirburn excessive for the good of the grouse population.(45) In making this recommendation Mr. Bass had listed in evidence the number of sheep from each farm to be found grazing on the common pasture.(Appendix LI)

In other parts of Inverness-shire a souming arrangement had been in operation for a considerable time, each farm in a township being allocated so many soums of grass on the common pasture according to the extent of arable land held. Livingstone(1977), examining souming relationships in the Scottish Highlands, quoted Burt's observation of the 1720s, for example, stating that in some glens 1 soum was equal to 4 sheep and 2 soums equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ cows or 40 goats. Pennant on the other hand had witnessed on the Island of Canna in the 1760s a souming relationship of 1 soum being equal to 1 cow or 10 sheep. Conflict between tenant farmers and between grazier and sportsman thus made a more formal relationship controlling stocking rates essential even on the extensive moors and hill grazings of Strathspey.

The limiting of livestock numbers in this way created problems for small holder tenants with access to traditional summer grazing sites rather than exclusive pasture. At Crask, a small hill farm with a limited grazing of 6 acres in the Braes of Abernethy, John McPherson was faced with the loss of his usual summer pasture at Na Farrow, a glen for long associated with the farm of Revack to which McPherson was a subtenant. The rent paid for Crask was £12 thus entitling him to graze 60 sheep on the hill during the summer, but in order to pay that rent he had to keep a stock of 72 sheep in addition to 2 horses, 6 cattle and 3 kyloes. McPherson was therefore faced with a shortage

of pasture let alone the possibility of losing his summer shieling at Na Farrow. Asking to be provided with another farm if he was to be deprived of his glen he explained:

I may here state that we depend more on sheep for the payment of rent than the crop. Indeed there is no dependence on crops in such a hilly place at least were it not the power the glen gives us in regard to the keep of sheep we could never realise the rent.(46)

Similarly, John Grant on the nearby farm of Attinlia petitioned the factor writing to retain for his sheep and cattle the glen of Dernaduack which he had used as a shieling for 30 years.(47)

The resolution of these problems could only be achieved if each tenant was given an exclusive right to an adequate quantity and quality of pasture. This was to be the policy of the estate management in carrying out the division of the common grazings during the 1850s and 1860s but the process was not an easy one for the factor and the landsurveyor who had to appease tenants from all quarters of the estate. The problem was not made any easier with the reduction of grazing ranges as land was taken over for planting of trees throughout the 19th century. As early as 1813 tenants in Deishar and Drumuillie had complained that it was 'impossible for them to keep possession of their farms' since all the grazing they had was was 'a narrow strip of hill pasture with moor below now all planted.'(48)

The creation of the 26,000 acre(10,612Ha.) Deer Forest in Upper Abernethy in 1869 finally put an end to the use of summer shielings which had lingered on in the 3 glens towards the Water of Caiplich. Sending livestock to the hill pasture in that area from that year was prohibited after Whitsunday in order that sheep and cattle stocks

would not interfere with shooting parties, a fact that disturbed John Fraser in Auchernack who still wished to use his shieling at Rybreck on the Water of Caiplich. Writing to the factor John Smith he pointed out that 'these grazings have been occupied by my father and myself since 1819 and by the former tenants of this farm for time immemorial.'(49) As far as Smith was concerned no one should have a grazing in the hills without paying some kind of rent and his reply is a final statement that the estate management did not now recognise the existence of summer shielings that were rent free:

I never heard or knew that you occupied any glen or grazing in the hill of Abernethy...it is clear, if you have had possession of a grazing in the hills of Abernethy, since the commencement of your last lease, it has been through sufferance on the part of the proprietor and not from any right or title you had thereto and I should say the proprietor will have a good claim against you for back rents.(50)

This retort did not prevent Fraser from trying to claim a rent rebate for the loss of grazing that had summered 400 sheep, a flock that cost him 1s. 3d. per head or £25 in total to graze on leased hill grazings elsewhere.(51) The process of transition from summer shieling to hill farm had finally been completed, but it had taken nearly 120 years to accomplish.

Conclusion.

That the Strathspey Estate had undergone an agricultural metamorphosis under the supervision of Peter Brown and George Mackay there is no doubt. Between 1847 and 1870 common grazings had largely been divided, farm boundaries had been rationalised and arable land had been greatly extended as a result of the investment of money and labour in drainage, enclosure and ploughing. All of this had been

achieved without recourse to drastic alterations in the pattern of landholding and without the sort of violence witnessed, for example, on the farm of Glencalvie on the Ross-shire estate of Kindace in 1847. There an attempt had been made to remove 4 joint tenants, 14 subtenants and cottars totalling in all 88 people in order to create a large sheep farm - an event that had aroused the condemnation of the Inverness Courier which accused landlords and factors of 'confining their attention to the rents alone, and putting a few pounds augmentation in the scale against the comfort of their fellow creatures.' (52)

Neither landlord nor factor on the Seafield Estates wanted to generate this kind of publicity whilst rearrangements were under way - a point noted by John Smith, the Strathspey factor, who wrote with some relief in January 1871 to the Earl of Seafield on the completion of the latest setting of farms:

It is very satisfying that the scheme settled upon for the reletting of Strathspey has been carried through its immense detail without requiring the expensive aid of law, or affording an opportunity of public clamour in the newspaper or otherwise, which to a certain extent at the outset might have been expected:- The whole estate has been relet to the old tenants as particularly wished by your Lordship, without a single man being ejected from the property.- and thus while great changes have been made with incalculable advantage both to the proprietor and tenant no excitement or bad feeling has been created: but on the contrary the greatest quietness and harmony prevailed. (53)

In 1848 there had been doubts expressed as Smith said about tenants going along with the changes then being brought about by Peter Brown. John Grant of Congash, who was by then habitually to be found in a state of annoyance was perhaps chief amongst those who expressed those doubts:

I never was so much annoyed as I have been since you were here, the whole county are disturbed in mind about their rise of rents and more particular the marches on which they commence poinding in all quarters, it is my belief they never will be satisfied under the existing arrangements.(54)

During the reorganisation of Strathspey farms few tenants were in fact required to leave their holdings and where this had been necessary, as for instance on the creation of the Abernethy Deer Forest, tenants were relocated on other small holdings such as Rynacattanach which had been separated from Dirdhu for this specific purpose. If anything the number of holdings had increased during the years following the death of Sir James Grant in 1811. The figures for farm holdings ranging from croft to major farm, however, do not reflect this to any great extent with an increase between 1817 and 1855 of only 14 holdings. In that time there had been an increase in the number of crofts by 29 at the expense of a reduction in small farms by 16,(Table 5.3) but the overall number of leases of all kinds in the rental book did show an increase from 618 in 1817 to 771 in 1865, suggesting that there was a growth at the bottom end of the scale in insignificant holdings.

Table 5.3

Landholdings: Strathspey Estate, 1817-1855.

<u>Size Class</u>	<u>No. of Holdings.</u>		
	<u>1817</u>	<u>1835</u>	<u>1855</u>
Crofts	228	249	257
Small farms	155	150	139
Medium farms	33	28	29
Large farms	11	11	12
Major farms	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	<u>431</u>	<u>442</u>	<u>445</u>

This increase in small holdings is also reflected in the ten year

census figures for the period 1811-1861.(Table 5.4) Throughout that time the total population of the 3 parishes of Abernethy, Duthil and Cromdale had risen steadily, the most dramatic growth occurring between the years 1811 and 1821 when an intercensal increase of 1139 was recorded.(Table 5.5) During the 1820s population growth was slower and although in the following decade there was a net increase throughout the estate the parishes of Duthil and Abernethy experienced a decline in numbers. Cromdale parish continued to have a growing population, principally of tenementers moving in from the peripheral parishes to individual rooms or lots at Grantown and other centrally located settlements. Many of these people were unable to obtain farms of their own or simply could not afford to pay increasing farm rents and therefore found themselves either working as casual labourers on the roads and in the expanding forestry plantations of Cromdale or else living the life of a pauper.

Table 5.4

Strathspey Estate: Population, 1811-61

	<u>1811</u>	<u>1821</u>	<u>1831</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1861</u>
Abernethy	988	1229	1258	1083	1086	1141
Cromdale	2010	2897	3234	3561	3990	3943
Duthil	<u>1143</u>	<u>1154</u>	<u>1309</u>	<u>1248</u>	<u>1408</u>	<u>1609</u>
	<u>4141</u>	<u>5280</u>	<u>5801</u>	<u>5892</u>	<u>6484</u>	<u>6693</u>

Table 5.5

Strathspey Estate: Intercensal population change, 1811-1861.

	<u>1811-21</u>	<u>1821-31</u>	<u>1831-41</u>	<u>1841-51</u>	<u>1851-61</u>
Abernethy	+241	+29	-175	+3	+55
Cromdale	+887	+337	+337	+429	-47
Duthil	<u>+11</u>	<u>+155</u>	<u>-61</u>	<u>+160</u>	<u>+201</u>
	<u>+1139</u>	<u>+521</u>	<u>+101</u>	<u>+592</u>	<u>+209</u>

During the 1850s and 1860s the trend was reversed with a small

reduction in the Cromdale population being offset by marginal increases in Abernethy and Duthil. Allotments such as those at Drumuillie, Carr Bridge and Boat of Garten had been extended because there were, as George Mackay explained, 'already some tradesmen there and there is suitable ground.'⁽⁵⁵⁾ There was a limit to the 'suitable ground' available in the neighbourhood of Grantown and with forestry planting on the increase in Duthil Parish and with the opening of a railway station at Boat of Garten the peripheral districts could now draw people back again, albeit in a small way.

Throughout the first half of the 19th century the tenant farmer had to contend with adverse factors outwith the control of the estate. Each decade had seen a series of natural disasters with crops destroyed in whole or in part over much of the estate as the result of flooding, frost, snow, wind, drought and mildew. In particular the years 1812, 1816-17, 1820-21, 1826, 1829-30, 1835-39 and 1846-50 had been critical ones for tenants whose loss of winter fodder had reduced the stocking capacity of their farms and hence their ability to engage in extensive improvements. The problem was compounded in the early 1820s, the mid 1830s and the late 1840s when low prices for agricultural produce made it even more difficult to find money with which to pay the rent let alone survive.

Between 1815 and 1840 the figure for rent in arrears climbed steadily in the face of a slowly increasing total agricultural rental.(Table 5.6) In the spring of 1813 after a year of scarcity the estate cashier had recommended that £50 be made available for the relief of poor in Strathspey and in writing to the factor had suggested:

Were you returned to the county yourself, I am inclined to believe that the situation of the poor will probably induce you to think of some work that may at once tend to the improvement of the estate and give employment to at least a part of the industrious labourers, but in the meantime what I have taken the liberty of suggesting would be a great and most reasonable relief to the most needy and those who are unable to work, & likewise prove a stimulus to the charity of others.(56)

Table 5.6

Strathspey Estate: Rent in Arrears, 1815-35.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Farm Rental</u>	<u>Arrears</u>
	£	£
1815	10,051	5,565
1820	9,987	6,359
1825	10,155	8,270
1830	10,230	8,088
1835	10,263	8,502

Subsequently, the Earl of Seafield was to relieve hardship amongst the tenants by giving a 25% abatement of rent and by providing grain and hay at reduced prices - actions that received the approbation of the press in March 1818.(57) On the advice of John Fraser abatements continued until 1824 'in order to encourage the tenants, whose spirits I regret to find are greatly depressed by the existing state of markets.'(58) By 1829 abatements were again required after one of the most disastrous floods on record. The scene of devastation was vividly described by the factor on 7 August:

...there is hardly a single possessor upon the banks of the Spey or that of the smaller rivulets or even stripes but what have suffered to such extent as to prove hurtfull to many and ruinous to others, the distressed people are crowding daily to me representing their miserable state, some of which have neither corn or grass left them to maintain their cattle through the summer or winter, the soil being swept away altogether otherwise covered with sand and gravel, some of them (three in number) have given up their possessions altogether as having no soil left them to cultivate, several dwelling houses are carried wholly off and few bridges left standing...the bridges of Nethy and Dulnan at Curr are completely destroyed.(59)

By the end of 1829 the full cost of that particular flood had been calculated, indicating a loss of £6.782 4s. 4d. to the Strathspey Estate. (Appendix LII) Six years later in 1836 the situation was little better with the cashier describing how a combination of poor markets, bad crops and poor harvest weather must inevitably 'make it a ruinous year to many a poor farmer.'(60)

The potato blight of 1846 had not caused such hardship in Strathspey as was experienced in the lowland districts where blight in association with a sharp rise in the price of grain from 20s. to 30s. per boll had caused riots in many of the small fishing villages early in 1847.(61) Sudden panic over the scarcity of food had caused a riot in Grantown much to the amazement of John Fraser who thought the violence quite unjustified since 'In Strathspey they have abundance and to spare not only of grain but even of potatoes.'(62)

The raising of farm rents during Peter Brown's reorganisation of 1847 on top of a low demand for grain and cattle in the immediately succeeding years was the last straw for many of the tenants in Strathspey who got together in December 1850, sending petitions from all quarters of the estate. The petition of 81 Cromdale farmers on the north side of the River Spey was frank. Their condition was plain to see and without a reduction in rent they had 'no alternative...but to emigrate to a foreign country and seek a home far distant from the cherished home of their youth.'(63) The Earl of Seafield was adamant on this occasion that rent increases were justified and unlike his father he made no attempt to prevent those who wished to emigrate from doing so, indeed, he even assisted them in this by supplying on 10 May

1852 an emigration circular from the Colonial Land and Emigration Office advertising for labour in Victoria, Australia.(64) That people did leave is shown by the sudden decline in the population of Cromdale during the 1850s, not all of this being accounted for by the movement of labour to the plantations and roads of Duthil and Abernethy.

Fortunately for the farmers of Strathspey there was to be a rise in prices during the next 20 years and with better weather conditions rent increases were sustained and improvements extended once more. After a long period of stagnation the estate rental was once more on the way up as Peter Brown and George Mackay set about their plans for the more efficient farming of Strathspey.(Fig.5.3)

In January 1871 John Smith, the factor was able to report that within the space of 3 years since the setting of the new leases in 1867 534 acres(218Ha.) had been 'reclaimed by the tenants with the aid of assistance from the proprietor,' and that the increase in estate rental as the result of increased land values and reorganisation had amounted to a total of £3,173 7s. 1d.(65)

Table 5.7

Strathspey Estate: Land use, 1870.

	<u>Acres</u>
Arable	15,382.310
Once arable now pasture	422.230
Improveable pasture	5,830.680
Pasture	102,671.565
Wood pasture (let)	5,372.180
Waste	1,567.880
Wood (reserved)	14,483.075
Pasture reserved for planting	12,895.290
Deer Forest	<u>26,006.000</u>
	<u>184,631.210</u>

Source: GD 248/3392/2/2

Strathspey Estate Agricultural Rental, 1810-1870.

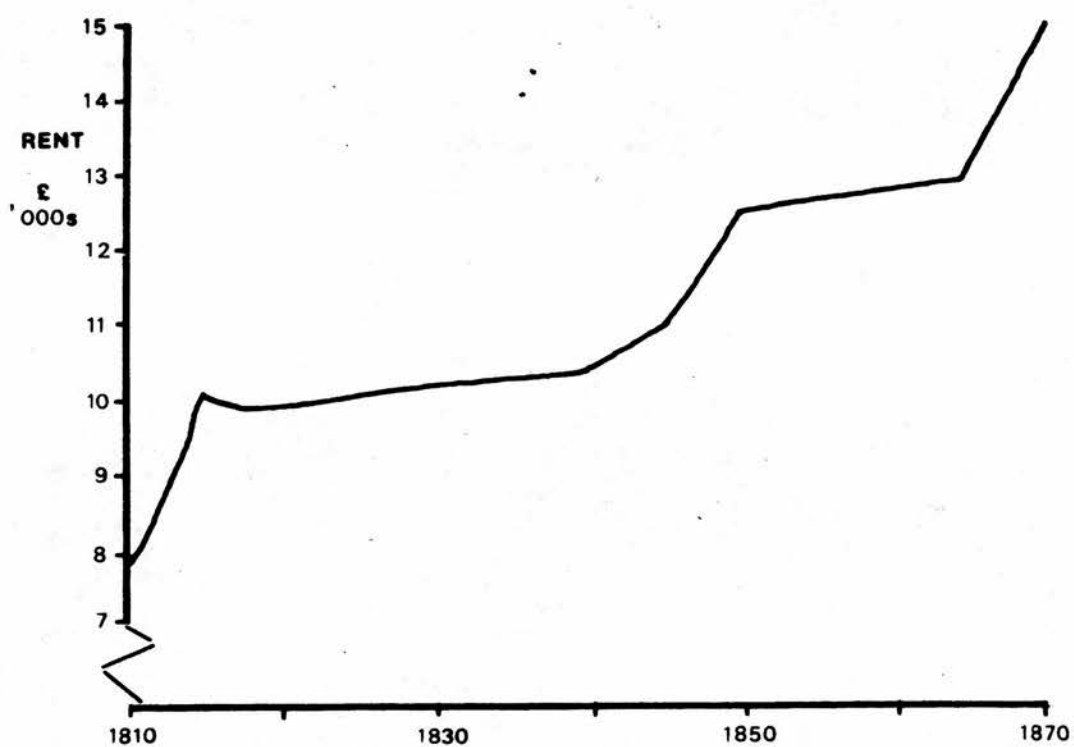


Figure 5.3

A summary of the land use figures for the whole estate in 1870 showed that between George Brown's survey of the first decade of the century and that of George Mackay 2,344 acres(957Ha.) of land had been reclaimed to raise the extent of arable land from 13,037 acres(5,321Ha.) to 15,382 acres(6,278Ha.) with a possible 5,830 acres still reckoned fit for improvement. Although improvements had been slow during the period 1811-47 they had certainly gained momentum during the two succeeding decades. Since the death of Sir James Grant the tenant farmer had in the face of great difficulties taken the lead in promoting agricultural improvement while the estate management directed its attentions elsewhere. Commenting on the newly revised estate regulations Alexander Cumming was the first to admit this when he wrote to the factor in October 1852:

I think the period is nearly arrived, if not already come, when almost every tenant may be safely trusted to manage his farm, pretty much as it ought to be managed both for landlord and tenant.(66)

This statement was to be endorsed in 1871 by John Smith and 3 years later by W.G.Bryson, current and past factors of Strathspey, the latter of whom noted that 'the tenants have built houses and steadings at their own expences for which they have a claim for 2 years rent.'(67) Admittedly the estate management had provided a good deal more encouragement and direction during the 1850s and 1860s but throughout that period the primary interests of the landowner, now living outwith Strathspey, were to be found not in agriculture but in the more lucrative areas of forestry and sport.

Chapter 6.

The Forests and Woods of Strathspey.

Introduction

A dominant feature of the lower landscape of Strathspey between 700ft.(210m.) and 1500ft.(450m.) is the impressive cover of forest consisting, for the most part, of scattered stands of birchwood and large tracts of 'natural' as well as planted pine. In the present century the ecological value of these Speyside forests has been recognised with the implementation of conservation legislation to protect, for example, the natural birchwood on the Craigellachie Hill above Aviemore and a large part of the privately owned pinewood at Abernethy.

Steven and Carlisle(1959) identified 35 pinewoods in Scotland that could be described as 'native', that is, descended from one generation to the next by natural regeneration. Nine of these are within the Cairngorm area, but at the top of the sequence in areal extent is Abernethy with an area of dense forest estimated by Goodier and Bunce(1973) to be in the region of 160Ha. To the north-west in the parish of Duthil a second principal area of native pinewood is situated south-west of Carrbridge on either side of the River Dulnain from Dalnahaitnach farm to the junction of the River Dulnain and Allt Ghuibhais with a range of altitude from 1020ft.(306m.) to 1500ft.(450m.).

Although the forests of Strathspey have been recognised in recent years for their ecological value in previous centuries they have

proved valuable biologically and economically to both tenant and land owner as a source of saleable timber, house building material, fuel, fencing and shelter to both wild and domestic grazing animals. But despite man's undoubtedly heavy impact over the years they still may be regarded as relatively less disturbed than any other extensive area of forest in the United Kingdom. From pollen analysis of appropriate sedimentary material Birks(1970) and O'Sullivan(1973) have shown that large areas of Abernethy have been continuously occupied by forest cover since the end of the last glaciation - a rare feature in Britain.

That the extent of forest was much greater in the past is evident from the remains of pine stumps most clearly exposed in the peat at Loch Mor near Tullochgriban and by the road from Duthil to Forres at Beum a' Chlaidheimh. Climatic change to wetter more oceanic conditions during the post glacial Atlantic and Sub-Atlantic periods has been partly responsible for the reduction of forest cover but it has been suggested that in the east central Highlands the forests were able to withstand this change to some degree and here the main factor controlling their subsequent development has been anthropogenic.(O'Sullivan,1977) Birks(1970) has attributed the survival of the Abernethy forest prior to the 18th century to the relatively small impact of a sparse population but Pears(1967) has suggested that the tree line was considerably lowered by then as a result of human activity, particularly the pasturing of livestock.

The most obvious changes in the pinewoods have therefore been (1) drastic reduction in total area; (2) change in the relative

proportions of major tree species and (3) changes in density and age structure as a result of selective extraction of timber and the impact of grazing and muirburn on natural regeneration (Gimingham, 1977). A good deal of these changes may have taken place during the last 300 years with the growing exploitation of the Strathspey woods by man, but their very survival suggests that conservation of an increasingly valuable resource at risk of depletion was an equally important controlling factor.

The Exploitation of the Strathspey Woods.

Until the 17th century the woods of Strathspey at Abernethy and Duthil were exploited almost solely to meet the local domestic need for timber. By the early years of that century, however, 2 sawmills were in operation and a wider interest was being shown in the great Abernethy Forest which was described as a 'Firr forest twenty four miles in compass.' (Macfarlane, 1908) With a shortage of timber in the lowlands (Anderson, 1967) needed to supply naval requirements attention was focussed on the highland pinewoods by the Commissioners of the Scottish Navy who struck a deal with the Laird of Grant in 1631. Most of the forest was leased for a period of 40 years to Capt. John Mason who paid Sir John Grant of Freuchie 'fiftie merks the hundred' for each deal of wood 'sawed and delivered at the mill.' (1) All the trees of the forest in both Duthil and Abernethy were, according to Fraser (1883), to be at his disposal for a total sum of £20,000 Scots, but it is uncertain whether this figure was ever paid or how much timber was actually extracted. This contract for the standing timber of Strathspey was one of the earliest records of a

purchaser being guaranteed:

...free transport, carriage, and carrying of the said woods and timber throw and doune the River Spey to the sea, without paying toll or tax to any persone...(2)

Although there was to be an increasing demand for timber during the 17th and 18th centuries remoteness was to be a major obstacle on which many Strathspey contracts were to founder. Attempts to market pinewood for ships masts in the early years of the 18th century were unsuccessful(3) and even the efforts of the famous York Building Company which had been granted a 15 year lease from 1728 were cut short by the collapse of the company in 1731.(Murray, 1883) A partnership between Sir Ludovick Grant, Alexander Grant and George Steevens of Poplar began in 1743 but their enterprise was also penalised by heavy transport costs in the face of stiff competition with Scandinavian timber imports.(4)

Over 20 years later in 1767 Sir James Grant was negotiating through Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey, his London agent, to sell wooden pipes, but beyond the sale of 21 samples(5) made at the newly constructed pipe boring mill at Dell (described by Dixon, 1976) no agreement was reached with the New River Company which had offered 7½d. per foot for 3 inch bore pipes.(6) Manufactured products from distant Strathspey could not successfully compete with those produced by local companies.

The manufacture of timber products by the estate for sale at distant markets having proved unsuccessful Sir James decided to revert to the leasing of standing timber on the advice of James Grant of Inveroury who had in 1765 been appointed principal overseer of the

Strathspey woods. Retaining the manufacture of spars in his own hands he advertised in the Aberdeen Journal on 7 March 1767 the sale of 'twenty thousand full-grown fir trees' along with the lease of a 'large farm', a 'saw-miln' and a 'boring-miln' for the 'convenience of those who may purchase the wood.' (Appendix LIII)

It was not until late in 1769 that a contract was secured with Alexander Cumming, son of the innkeeper at Aviemore and Clockmaker to George III, (Dixon, 1976). With the pipe manufactory being the 'principal object in view' (7) a contract was signed on 13 December by Alexander Cumming in partnership with William Allan and Alexander Grant who agreed to purchase 100,000 trees at 1s. 7d. each to be cut in 15 years. (8) The result of their attempts to continue the pipe boring enterprise was predictable and within two years Alexander Cumming could only write to James Grant of Grant on behalf of the partnership to intimate that as from Whitsunday 1772 'we are now come to the resolution of giving up the Manufactory of the Woods in terms of our contract.' (9) An estimated account drawn up in August 1772 shows that during that period 13,583 trees had been felled leaving Sir James with an income of £1,348 14s. 1d. (Appendix LIV)

Alexander Grant in Dallachapple who was acting for Alexander Cumming was of the opinion that the contract 'had it been properly managed all the partners at the end of it would be richly rewarded for their trouble.' From his knowledge of the markets he went on to suggest that James Grant of Grant take the manufactory of the wood into his own hands again:

...I remember you said it was your intention to dispose of your woods for the future in Bushes. It cannot be supposed where a number of purchasers are that any of them will buy a greater quantity than

they think may be disposed of from the Broomhill to Speymouth your yearly rent from such a quantity must be but small. From the experience I have gained since I came here of the different markets and the knowledge I have of the quality of your woods what uses it ought to be converted into leads me to think that you might manufacture it your self considerably more to your advantage and only fell one half yearly of the number in the last contract which I am persuaded from the calculations I have made will bring you in near to Four hundred a year.(10)

Despite this advice Sir James eventually decided to lease the Strathspey woods and mills once more. In 1778 James Macgregor entered into a seven year contract :

...for cutting yearly two thousand Firr trees during said space, of the best & most proper the said James Macgregor shall think fit for his purpose as also for cutting two thousand trees more yearly for spar-wood of the following dimensions vizt. one thousand trees fit for making spars twenty four feet long each and seven by 6 inches thick at the small end with this provision & condition that the trees for spar wood are to be taken first of the decaying & wind fallen trees, if to be had of such, thereafter to be cut and taken out of the thickest of said Fir-wood. - with liberty of drawing and floating the said quantity of fir trees yearly to the saw milns ...(11)

For each tree Macgregor was to pay 2s. 6d. and for each sparwood tree 8d. on top of a mill rent of £316 13s. 4d. In granting him the 'liberty of...his Fir-woods of Glenchernich(Dulnain Valley) and Abernethy' Sir James Grant also gave Macgregor 'full power and liberty to erect a new saw-miln at Delnahaitnich & another in Abernethy for the manufactory of the wood to be cut.'

James Macgregor seems to have been successful in carrying out the full length of his contract but his successor James Grant in Lettoch who leased the Abernethy woods for seven years from 1786 was less fortunate. His contract allowed him to cut annually the timber detailed in Table 6.1, but by 1789 the 'sale of fir wood' in Strathspey was again advertised with entry from Whitsunday 1790.(Appendix LV) Subsequently, in 1798, 1803 and 1805 thousands of

trees from Duthil and Abernethy Forests were put up for sale mostly in lots close to streams that would facilitate the floating of timber down to the River Spey and on to Garmouth. The advertisement of 3 September and 5 November 1805, for example, announced the sale of valuable timber in 2 lots, the first of 4,500 acres(1837Ha.) lying next or near to the water of Nethy and the second of 3,000 acres(1224Ha.) on certain parts of the Duthil forest lying near to the Dulnain River.(Anderson, 1967) The more inaccessible areas of the forest received less attention, although Sir James Grant received an offer in 1778 from John Grant, vintner in Aviemore of 2s. per tree for 1,100 -1,200 trees to be cut annually over 7 years in 'the extreme or remote parts' of the Duthil Woods.(12)

Table 6.1

Agreement between Sir James Grant & James Grant of Lettoch
re Woods of Abernethy.

800 deal wood trees
400 trees fit for spars of 24 ft.
400 trees fit for spars of 20 ft.
200 trees fit for spars of 18 ft.
200 trees fit for spars not exceeding 16 ft.

to be taken yearly for 7 years.

Source: GD 248/201/1

By Sir James Grant's death in 1811 the number of saw mills in operation in Strathspey had increased to 7 with a valuation of £86 19s. In addition to the upper, middle and lower Abernethy mills there were now saw mills at Dalnahaitnich , Delrachneybeg and Auldlorgy in Duthil Parish and at Wester Port in Cromdale Parish.(13)

A year earlier in a report to John Fraser, Mr. Cumming at Docharn had pointed out that 'the price of wood still continues to decline' and once more attributed the failure to find outside markets on high transport costs:

The expences incurred by sending wood to Leith is so intolerably high that it makes it a bad concern & I trust the demand at home will soon be such as to obviate the necessity of sending much more there; However I am happy to find that the superior quality of Sir James Grant's woods is now known and acknowledged at that place & neighbourhood.(14)

With low offers for standing timber few contracts were entered into during the early years of the 19th century and wood sales were mostly of cut timber sold either locally or at Garmouth. An inventory of the 'Fir timber received from Duthil at Inverness' between August 1826 and August 1827 gives some idea of the variety of cut timber exported from the Duthil Woods (Appendix LVI) in a year when the total income from the forests of Strathspey and Urquhart amounted to £14,929 19s. 10d.(15) This must have been an exceptionally good year for timber sales since Grant(1980) estimates the average annual forestry return to the Earl of Seafield to be in the region of £8,500 during the period 1811-40. O'Sullivan(1973) also suggested from map evidence that the period immediately prior to 1830 was one of major forest exploitation with a maximum recorded contraction in the forest area of Abernethy Parish.

The demand for timber which had been sustained by the shipbuilding industry and then by the development of the railway system was eventually to wane in the face of the replacement of timber by metal in shipbuilding and the final removal in 1866 of the duty on

imported timber. The coming of the railway to Strathspey in the 1860s was of great benefit to the agriculture, sport and forestry enterprises on the estate but despite the reduction in transport costs competition with imported timber made the forest industry a less attractive area of investment. Anderson(1967) has suggested that with reduced timber prices, an increasing interest in sport and the passing of more and more land into the hands of wealthy industrial magnates estates were managed 'more for pleasure and sport than for profit.' In Strathspey where the upper forest of Abernethy was enclosed as deer forest in 1869 the policy was, however, not one of totally abandoning the forest enterprise in favour of sport but one of economic diversification. The development of sport as a source of estate revenue had taken place gradually over a period of nearly 40 years and was to reach its peak in the 1870s and 1880s, but the sale of timber by private tender was to continue as the estate advertised 'lots of fine old natural grown Scots pine trees.'⁽¹⁶⁾ The superior quality of timber, sustained local demand and the fact that the woods of Abernethy and Duthil were two of the last great reserves of native pinewood guaranteed the survival of the Strathspey forests whose economic value continued to be recognised.

Conservation and Management.

The growth in timber exploitation in Strathspey throughout the 17th and 18th centuries was carried out with little regard for the ideal of achieving a sustained yield whereby the annual cut equalled the annual volume increment of the trees. To the domestic and commercial users of the forests of Abernethy and Duthil reserves of pine, birch and alder must have appeared almost limitless and it was

probably assumed that what natural regeneration there was would be adequate to replace the wood that had been extracted, thus ensuring a constant supply of timber for the foreseeable future. John Clerk of Penicuik, passing through Strathspey on his way to Inverness in May 1739 was particularly impressed by the natural regeneration of the pinewoods:

...we passed through a Firr wood which belongs to the Laird of Grant & I observed in it trees of all ages & where the wood was cut down I observed many new supplies from the fallen seeds not above a foot high.(17)

Over a century later in 1851 William Bryson, the factor was also to make a note of the vigorous regeneration but was at pains to point out that the seedlings would come to nothing unless adequately protected. The woods of Duthil being almost entirely unenclosed were particularly prone to damage by grazing animals and by muirburn.(18) By then, however, the estate had realised the value of conservation measures to protect the existing forest stock and to encourage the regeneration of trees by both natural and artificial means.

In the 1760s William Lorimer amongst others was keen to impress on James Grant of Grant the importance of forest management which was sufficiently lacking in Strathspey to warrant the comment that 'In the knowledge and care of woods the people of Strathspey seem to be as far behind those of Braemar and Glentanner, as the Spaniards are behind the rest of Europe in knowledge in general.'(19) Dixon(1975) has detailed the 'advices as to the management of your Estate and Woods' collected by Lorimer on his travels in the north-east and in the Central Highlands during 1762-63. His meetings with land owners, factors and foresters resulted in a series of copious notes

particularly on Lord Aboyne's woods in Glentannar and Lord Fife's woods near Braemar. Lord Aboyne's Overseer of Woods, Donald Cumming was especially helpful in providing 'observations about wood in general' and in preparing a report 'after surveying the Woods of Glenchairnich.'(Appendix LVII) The particular conservation measures advocated by Lorimer are to be found in his notes on forestry compiled in 1763, the most important of which are summarised in the following extracts:

1. ...if ever you wish to nurse and forward your woods, you must destroy all servitudes or allowances to cut timber for the tenants houses - for if you give them liberty to cut 3 or 4 spars for that end, they'll under that cut a dozen...if you withdraw the servitudes, the tenants must buy their timber, and you must allow them power to meliorate their houses...
2. ...Mr. Grant should appoint a person to oversee the cutters while they are about it - otherways they'll destroy the young as well as old trees.
3. ...the dimensions of the trees should be carefully mentioned - none to be cut under that - none to be made into carts etc. or to be carried away till inspected by Mr. Grant's order, a fixt period for cutting - at what height above the ground are they to be cut.
4. Allow no tenant to go to the wood with an axe.
The tenants will thus be more careful of their houses, which will save the Lairds Wood.
5. ...Genl. Abercromby thinks some parts of your young woods might be inclosed by Feal or Turf-Dykes - if a Forrester or Park-Keeper were appointed at a proper station, he, by the help of this Dyke might prevent sheep getting in, to the young trees.
6. ...it would be of great Advantage if sheep could be prevented from feeding too near the woods - they browse on the young plants.
7. Oblige every improver to inclose, and plant trees within his Dykes, in some regular connected manner - plant fruit and barren trees in his garden - Fruit-trees if near a river, and Firrs, Beeches, and Oaks in the hills.(20)

James Grant of Grant fully realised the damage that had already

been done to the woods of Strathspey and immediately set about establishing measures for their protection and better management. In an advertisement for the attention of all tenants he pointed out that

...within this half century thro' the malice or negligence of evil minded or thoughtless people the best and greatest part of the said woods have been destroyed & rendered useless both to Heretors and tenants.

The same document went on to outline regulations and penalties against 'stealing, cutting, or destroying woods and raising moorburn' and against the use of 'all garthing made of birch, fir, or alders, as fences about corn, grass, kailyards or cornyards.'(21) He put an end to the practice described by Lorimer whereby 'the master gives a present to the tenant of all the wood he uses for his houses' since 'the oftener those houses are pull'd down, it destroys so much more of the Laird's timber.'(22)

In addition to the new regulations a further document entitled a 'Plan and directions for the manufacturing Woods in Abernethy and Glenchernich for the year 1765' intimated the appointment of James Grant of Inveroury as Overseer of Woods.(23) As the first 'Head or Chief Forester in the whole Woods in Strathspey'(24) Grant was to personally mark with an axe and record all trees to be felled as well as supervise the foresters of which there were already 3 in the parish of Abernethy - William Grant and James Grant with his son Lewis, all of whom lived on the farm of Rynettin in the upper forest of Abernethy. These foresters along with those in the parish of Duthil had been issued with a set of detailed instructions in the previous two years giving them powers to police the forests and to supervise the felling of trees by those who had been granted warrants for wood

cutting. In particular they were to prevent the 'pernicious practices of stealing and destroying' the woods as well as to prevent muirburn from taking place between 1 March and 29 September.(25)

Apart from the protection of the native pinewoods James Grant of Grant was to consider the conservation of the many patches of birch, oak and alder throughout the estate. Again in 1765 'Proposals for Preserving the Birch Woods in Strathspey' were issued since it was reckoned that the birch was 'so scarce in the country' as a result of heavy domestic use by the tenants.(Appendix LVIII) A list of small hardwoods was made up with each wood being 'committed to the care' of tenants of 'credit and honesty.'(Appendix LIX) Birch trees of less than 12 inches in circumference 'within a foot of the root' were not to be felled and as in the case of the pinewood those wishing to cut timber had to apply for a warrant. Similarly, birchwood was to be sold in lots from time to time as in June 1779 when 3,310 birch trees at Kinchurdy and 680 trees at Camriach were put up for sale for cutting over a period of 3 years.(26)

In coming to realise the value of the pinewoods and birchwoods of Strathspey Sir James Grant had by the late 1760s established a set of conservation measures that successfully protected what was left of the forests from total destruction. O'Sullivan(1973) suggests that the period between Roy's survey(c.1750) and that of George Brown(1804-13) was one of forest contraction in the parish of Abernethy at least, giving as his reasons the evidence of increased demand for timber as a result of the Napoleonic Wars and an increased amount of human activity caused by hill improvements. It has been shown here that demand for timber from Strathspey had been limited at this time by

transport costs and although hill improvements had taken place on a large scale after 1750 that movement had reached a peak by the late 1760s. With occupation on the periphery of the estate declining thereafter it is doubtful whether the period 1770-1810 saw any marked decrease in forest cover as a result of activity by tenant farmers although large numbers of livestock must still have acted as a modifying influence on the vegetation and in particular the development of naturally regenerated seedlings.

With increased timber felling during the first half of the 19th century it was now important not only to protect the existing mature forest stock but also to actively encourage and ensure the success of regeneration by natural and artificial means. In this period both plantations and areas of natural woodland came under the protection of an increasing number of poindlers or wood watchers. At the same time Steven and Carlisle(1959) point out that some 3,800 acres(1551Ha.) of forest in Abernethy alone were enclosed by dykes to protect trees from grazing. The depasturing of the pinewoods and their protection in this way had been advocated in his report to Lord Seafield in 1847 by Peter Brown, the agriculturalist who was convinced that the pine would 'disappear altogether' if cattle, sheep, goats and horses continued 'grazing promiscuously in the woods.'(27)

Regeneration of pine was encouraged not only by protecting the seedlings from grazing but also by increased forest drainage and the adoption of the shelterwood compartment system of forest management whereby seed trees were left after an area had been felled. the regeneration that followed was often patchy but in 1851 after

inspecting the forests of Strathspey Mr. Mackintosh, a wood merchant in Nairn suggested that:

...a considerable revenue might be taken from the thinnings of most of the woods with such positive advantage to the trees remaining, that the ultimate value of the woods would be increased.(28)

This comment was, however, not only directed at the areas of naturally regenerating woodland but also at the pine plantations which by then were an important element in the continued survival of the pinewoods of Strathspey.

Afforestation.

By the mid-18th century it had become clear to the Laird of Grant that the growing commercial and domestic exploitation of the forests of Strathspey could only continue as long as there was a sustained yield of timber. The existing reserves of pine and birch although extensive were gradually being eroded away and what natural regeneration there was could hardly be relied upon to ensure such a sustained yield. Looking to the future it was, therefore, essential to enhance natural regeneration by a programme of afforestation.

William Roy's Survey (c.1750) indicates that planting had already taken place around Castle Grant, principally for amenity. The nurseryman-land surveyor Thomas Winter, visiting Castle Grant in 1748, was able to report to Sir Ludovick Grant that he 'found a good part of Jackson's Park planted, mostly with Firs and birches.' Unfortunately, of the 100,000 Scots pine he had planted at Dunan only about 4,000 had survived the ravages of sheep and cattle.(29)

In 1764 the nurseryman Thomas Smith, styled a 'gardener', arrived in Strathspey to begin planting the Carn Luich hill to the north-west of Castle Grant. He had planted trees at Brodie and at Gordon Castle and obtained a formal contract to plant on the Strathspey Estate on 10 May 1765, a year after he had started to work there.(30) By May 1764 he had already planted over 52 Scots acres(27Ha.) of the Carn Luich Hill, the whole area to be planted being enclosed by a six foot high earth dyke nearly 4,000 yards in circumference.(31) A year later, a further 15 Scots acres(6Ha.) had been planted with Scots pine at 3 to 4 foot spacing leaving just over 100 Scots acres(51Ha.) to be planted by 1 April 1766. Measurement of the plantation was carried out by William Tennoch an Edinburgh surveyor working as an assistant to Robert Robinson(32) and Smith, for his services, received payment at the rate of 15s. per acre planted plus an allowance of £2 per year until 1771 for the maintenance of a herd to protect the trees and maintain the dyke. After completing the planting on Cairn Luich Hill Thomas Smith immediately moved down onto the parklands at Castle Grant and the nearby Grantown Moor where he began to plant a variety of species including willow, birch, beech and Scots pine.

The trees were to come from a variety of sources. In the third week of April 1766, for example, '3,000 fine birch plants' arrived from Tulchan only a few miles to the east and a quantity of seedlings was sent up from Edinburgh via Fort George. Scots pine seedlings had come from Monymusk but a greater quantity was to be had from Peter May the land surveyor who was able to supply at a cost of £17 19s. 6d. 217,000 two-year-old and 60,000 three-year-old seedlings which were transported by carrier from his Aberdeen nursery via Keith.(Appendix

LX)

Four years later in 1770 Smith was still to be found in the vicinity of Castle Grant enclosing just over 85 Scots acres(43Ha.) at Craigmore, Meikle Craighae and Little Craighae which he planted with 50,000 Scots pine and 1,100 oak seedlings at a total cost of £86 5ls. 6d.(34)

During the next 20 years planting was to be directed by William Forbes, the grieve at Castle Grant who continued to oversee the 'planting of trees for amenity and profit,' principally in the neighbourhood of Castle Grant where in 1780 he was planting out a variety of species including mountain ash, pine, silver fir, spruce, plane and poplar. Amenity still seemed to be a major consideration for Sir James Grant who arranged for a plantation to be laid down by the estate clerk's house at Heathfield in order to hide the unsightly moss and in a letter to the factor in 1797 made arrangements for the improvement of the distant landscape of Abernethy as seen from the castle:

...you will settle with Mr. Carmichael as to inclosing by his people and neighbours in the same manner as I made the inclosures at Curr an inclosure for a plantation from his miln farm facing Castle Grant towards the Bridge of Spey so as to have a full effect for Castle Grant & to ornament & benefit the Congas side of the water...(36)

From at least March 1798 seed was obtained from the nursery of George Brown the land surveyor at Linkwood on the outskirts of Elgin. Brown supplied large quantities of Scots pine which he suggested should be planted at a wider spacing of 7 foot to 8 foot,(37) but was also able to send up a great variety of species for amenity planting.

Table 6.2 gives some idea of the range of tree species sent to Strathspey, for example, in February 1804.

Table 6.2

Note of trees received from Mr. Brown,
22 Feby. 1804

163,000	Scotts Firs
16,000	Larches 2 years in the line
1,800	Ash 2½ feet high
400	Birch
1,500	Elms 2 feet long
1,000	Small birch
1,500	Small oak
500	Planes
500	Roun trees 2 years in the line
300	Liburnams 2 years Do.
200	Spruce firs 2 years Do.

Source: GD 248/1548

Although Brown was a major supplier of seedlings to Sir James Grant plants were also brought from other nurseries in order to meet the growing demand for commercial and amenity planting. In 1805, on top of 400,000 Scots pine seedlings bought from George Brown a further 356,000 were ordered from Alexander Grigor and 220,000 from John Small, both nurserymen like Brown located in Elgin.(38) Three years later Lewis Sinclair who was then supervising the planting around Castle Grant visited Fraser's nursery in Inverness where he ordered 40,000 seedling larch, 5,000 oaks, 200 spruce, 4,000 thorn for hedging at Culnakyle and 'some other ornamental plants.'(39)

James Grant, the factor was keen to plant on more cultivated ground suggesting that:

...if three or four were planted in all the farm gardens in the county, and be taken care of it would in time be a useful supply for Strathspey.(40)

A few ash had been planted at Culnakyle in addition to roadside

planting near Grantown where it was mixed with elm, and around
Dulnain Bridge where it was mixed with elm, larch, spruce, oak and
service.(41)

Although much of the planting of Scots pine was carried out using
seedlings from outwith Strathspey there is a record in 1805 of some
seed being collected from the Abernethy Forest and sown at two
nurseries on the estate at Drumuillie and at Lewis Sinclair's farm at
Miltown.(42) Two years later there is also a note of plants coming
not only from George Brown but also from a nursery at Castle Grant for
planting out on the Aviemore Moor.(43)

The extent of afforestation during the lifetime of Sir Ludovick
and Sir James Grant can be gauged from the surveys of George Brown
undertaken during the period 1804-1813. By then 3,416 Scots
acres(1757Ha.) had been planted, representing just under 30% of the
woodland cover of Strathspey. The bulk of this had been carried out
in the sparsely afforested parish of Cromdale where, despite a
relatively high percentage of birchwood there was only an estimated 38
Scots acres(19Ha.) of natural pinewood. Nearly 62% of the 2,344 Scots
acre(1,205Ha.) Cromdale woods were of planted pine, a higher
percentage than in either of the other two parishes on the estate. To
the west an existing acreage of 3,892 Scots acres(2,001Ha.) in the
Dulnain valley was augmented by the planting of a further 1,781 Scots
acres(916Ha.) of pine chiefly on the Aviemore Moor and at Curr,
Muckrach and Clury. To the south in the parish of Abernethy which was
dominated by the 5,871 Scots acre(3,019Ha.) native pinewood
plantations were minimal and only accounted for just over 2% of forest

land. The majority of planting by the time of Sir James Grant's death in 1811 had, therefore, been concentrated in the immediate vicinity of Grantown and Castle Grant and on the poor quality moorland between Duthil and Aviemore rather than around the existing pinewood at Abernethy. (Tables 6.3 and 6.4 and Figs. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3)

Table 6.3

Forest Land: Strathspey Estate, 1804-13.

Scots Acres.

	<u>Natural Pine</u>	<u>Planted Pine</u>	<u>Birch</u>	<u>Other Spp.</u>
Abernethy	5,871	136	582	286
Duthil	3,892	1,781	1,563	221
Cromdale	38	1,451	701	149
total:	<u>9,801</u>	<u>3,368</u>	<u>2,846</u>	<u>656</u>

Table 6.4

Forest Land: Strathspey Estate, 1804-1813.

8

	<u>Natural Pine</u>	<u>Planted Pine</u>	<u>Birch</u>	<u>Other Spp.</u>
Abernethy	85.38	2.00	8.46	4.16
Duthil	52.18	23.88	20.96	2.98
Cromdale	0.02	61.90	29.90	8.18
Strathspey Estate	45.86	29.26	19.77	5.11

Compared with 3,370 Scots acres (1,733Ha.) of conifer plantations the total amount of hardwoods or mixed softwood and hardwood plantations was small at about 45 Scots acres (21Ha.). This type of woodland was planted principally for amenity in the policies of Castle

Grant, at Coulmakyle and at the Abernethy Manse in addition to the roadside plantings already described near Grantown and Curr. The greater extent of hardwoods growing in Strathspey were 'natural' and amounted to nearly 25% of the woodland cover. Of these birch was the dominant covering nearly 2,846 Scots acres(1,464Ha.), but there were also nearly 200 Scots acres(104Ha.) of streamside alder as well as small patches of hazel and birch in association with alder, oak and juniper.

During the next 40 years under the management of Col. Francis Grant tree planting in Strathspey continued to be concentrated in the Parish of Cromdale. In the years immediately following the death of Sir James Grant beating up took place in the existing plantations(44) but between 1815 and 1817 new planting recommenced at Tomvaich Hill and on the adjoining moor at Mid Port just east of Grantown where 450,000 Scots pine and 123,000 larch were supplied from the Elgin nurseries of George Brown and Alexander Grigor.(45)

In the spring of 1826 planting in Cromdale Parish moved south of the Spey to the Hill of Tominourd where the tenant farmers had been given notice in the previous year to clear their sheep from the pasturage. Writing to the Strathspey factor, John Fraser at Cullen acknowledged that 'Scots firs must no doubt be the predominating tree in the plantation' but suggested that 'the more larches you find soil and shelter for the better' going on to recommend that they be planted 'in clumps and belts by themselves for in this way the larch thrives far better than when intermixed as occasional trees amongst the scots firs.'(46) Unfortunately, during the great flood of August 1829 much of the planting on the Tominourd Hill was washed away, John Grant

describing how part of the hill had 'fallen down with hundreds of thriving plants and blocked the road completely.'(47) The planting of Tominourd had been plagued with bad luck, for in the spring of the same year a large part of the hill had just been replanted with 300,000 seedlings from Abernethy forest following the destruction of thousands of young trees as the result of a drought during the previous season.(49)

The planting and replanting of Tominourd between 1816 and 1830, the filling up of Grantown Moor in 1830 and the planting east of Belliward in 1827 all took place within the parish of Cromdale but in 1831-32 a brief spell of planting was carried out in the parish of Abernethy on 98 acres of the Balliefurth Moor at a total cost of £139 4s. 9d.(Table 6.5) By this time the cashier at Cullen was pleased to point out that 'a great proportion of the plants raised and planted out were from seed sown in the nursery at Drummullie.'(49) Writing to William Forsyth the forester at Dell near Nethy Bridge he was to request seed from the Forest of Abernethy to be planted at Grant Lodge in Elgin where a nursery was to be established for the benefit of planting on the lower Seafield Estates. By 1839 a considerable amount of Abernethy seed was being supplied throughout the estate. In February of that year Fraser at Cullen was able to report:

I have just now learnt from the forester here Angus Fraser that after supplying what is wanted both in this district there will be about 400,000 very fine Scots Fir plants(the produce of Abernethy seed) remaining in Lord Seafield's nursery at Dunhenty Garden, Grant Lodge, ready for planting out in Spring.(50)

Table 6.5

Expense of Inclosing Dyke, purchase & carriage of plants & planting the Moor of Balliefuth in Spring last.[18 September 1831]

Expense of planting	£31	16	9
Expense of plants	56	-	-
Carriage of do.	9	-	-
Enclosing dyke	42	8	-
	<u>£139</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>

Source: GD 248/1629, p.181 Strathspey Factory Accounts Crop 1831.

In Strathspey the planting that followed during the next ten years throughout the late 1830s and into the 1840s was once again centred in the parish of Cromdale on the hills at Culfoich (1839), Tomnalty (1840), Knockfrink (1839), Delliefure (1841) and Drumindow of Cromdale (1843). The enclosure and planting of land here was seen to be of value not only in extending the plantations of Strathspey but also 'for the sake of the employment it will afford to many of the poor people.'⁽⁵¹⁾ In addition to the employment generated by the establishment of plantations there was an increase in the number of jobs made available for the purpose of looking after them in subsequent years. In order to maintain the dyking and prevent muirburn and encroachment by livestock poindlers or wood watchers were appointed along with a growing number of foresters. The number of poindlers employed from one year to the next was variable. In 1849 there were only 2 wood watchers in the parish of Cromdale and 2 in the parish of Abernethy.⁽⁵²⁾ Earlier, in 1844 there had been 8 wood watchers but, the number had increased again by 1859 when there were 7 poindlers over and above the salaried positions of wood manager and forester.⁽⁵³⁾

During the 1850s planting and filling up continued, with

large scale afforestation gradually moving into Duthil Parish and with small scale planting in Abernethy at Craigbae (1851), Gartenmore (1852) and Blairgowrie (1853). With the planting programme now centred further west labourers were drawn in the 1850s and 1860s to work in these new plantations where James Brown, the forester at Abernethy reckoned the planters could work at a rate of 12,000 trees per person per day.(54)

The extensive new planting at Duthil (1862), Deishar (1862), Tullochgriban (1863), Craggan More (1864), Kinveachy (1864), Sliemore (1863), Aviemore (1866) and Tulchan (1865) as well as beating up at Drumdunan (1864), Castle Grant (1864) and Craigmore and Revack (1865) required an ever increasing supply of seedlings. These were obtained from an increasingly wide range of sources that augmented the seed supply from Strathspey where a new nursery was established in 1854 at Culnakyle. Seedlings came from the neighbouring Doune nursery on the Rothiemurchus Estate in 1852(55) and from an assortment of suppliers throughout the country that included Benjamin Reid & Co., Aberdeen, Dickson and Turnbull, Perth, Thomas Smith, Stranraer, Howden Brothers, Inverness, John Grigor, Forres, William Sim, Forres, Morrison and son, Elgin, Thomas Methven, Edinburgh and Dickson and Co., Edinburgh.

The dramatic expansion of the planting programme and the increase in seedlings being purchased from outwith the estate is indicated by comparing the amount spent in Strathspey on management and buying seedlings in the five year period from 1816 to 1820 with that spent in the five years from 1854 to 1858. In the former period management and planting costs amounted to £88 12s. 5d. with a total of £19 14s. 8d. being spent on buying seed from Forres and Elgin. Nearly 40 years

later expenditure on management and planting in Strathspey had soared to £16,570 13s. 2d. with the amount spent on seedlings rising to £1,270.

The increased local demand for timber had, during the early 19th century, changed the balance between planted and 'natural' timber on the Strathspey estate. Afforestation had been concentrated in Duthil and Cromdale parishes but planting in Abernethy had also increased over ten fold in the years between George Brown's survey of 1811-13 and William Brown's survey of Abernethy in 1858.(56) Although felling had reduced the area of native pinewood from 5,821 Scots acres(3,019Ha.) to 3,351 Scots acres(1,723Ha.) The plantations at Tore Hill (58Ha.), Craigmore (256Ha.), Gartenmore (468Ha.), Craigbea (48Ha.) and Balnagowan (32Ha.) had increased from 136 Scots acres (70Ha.) to 1,689 Scots acres (868Ha.) in the same period.

For the estate as a whole the area of forest open to exploitation had been marginally reduced from 20,839 acres (8,505Ha.), c.1810, to 19,855 acres (8,104Ha.) in 1870.(57) Heavy felling had been almost balanced by a vast afforestation programme but in 1869 a large part of the upper 'natural' forest was separated from the lower 'worked' sector in Abernethy to reduce the total area available for timber exploitation. Had it not been for the conservation measures initiated by Sir James Grant of Grant in the 1760s and for the extensive planting started by Col. Francis William Grant, the pinewoods of Strathspey would have been totally reduced to insignificant proportions located in the most inaccessible corners of the estate.

Figure 6.1 Abernethy; pine forest, plantations and woodland, c.1810.

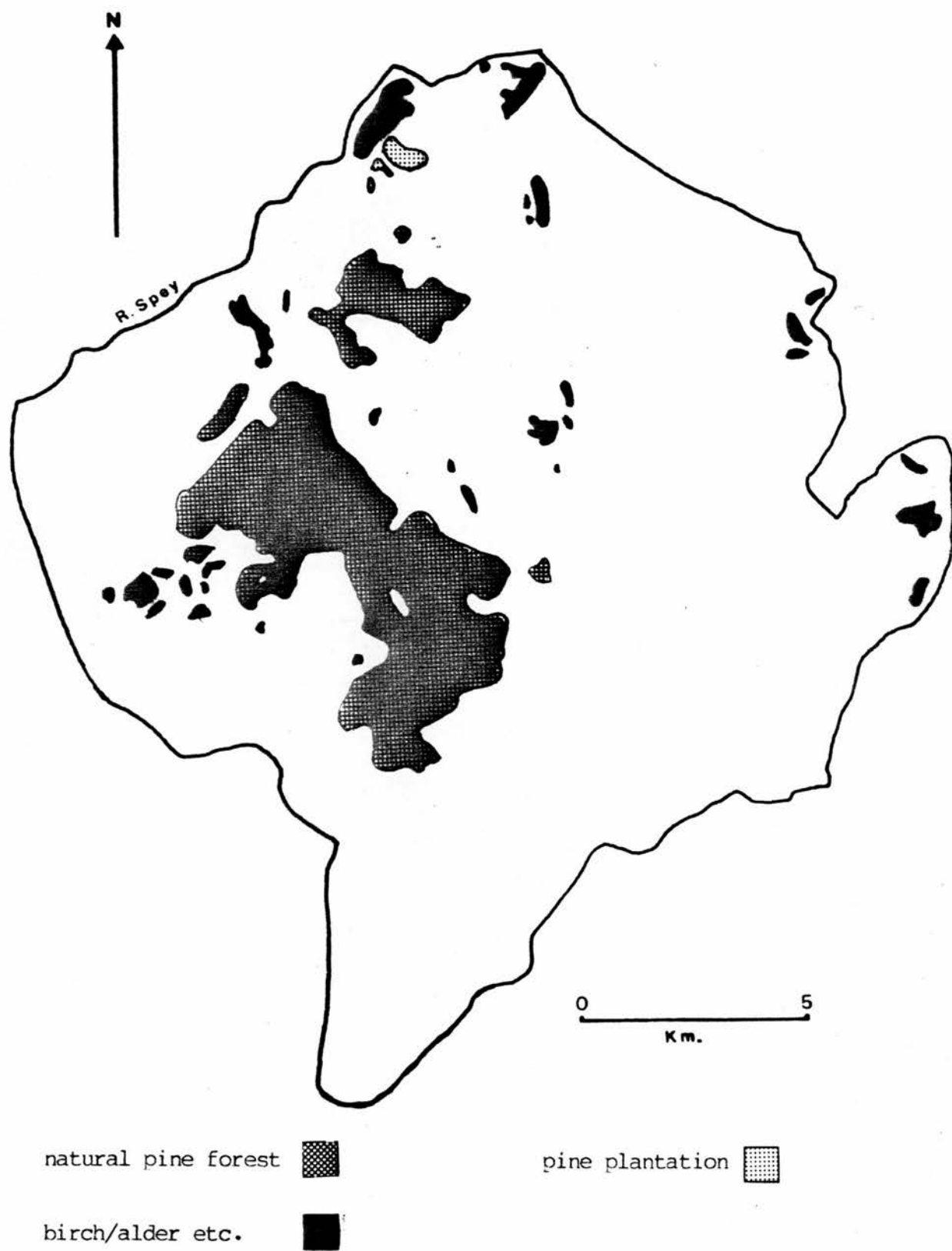
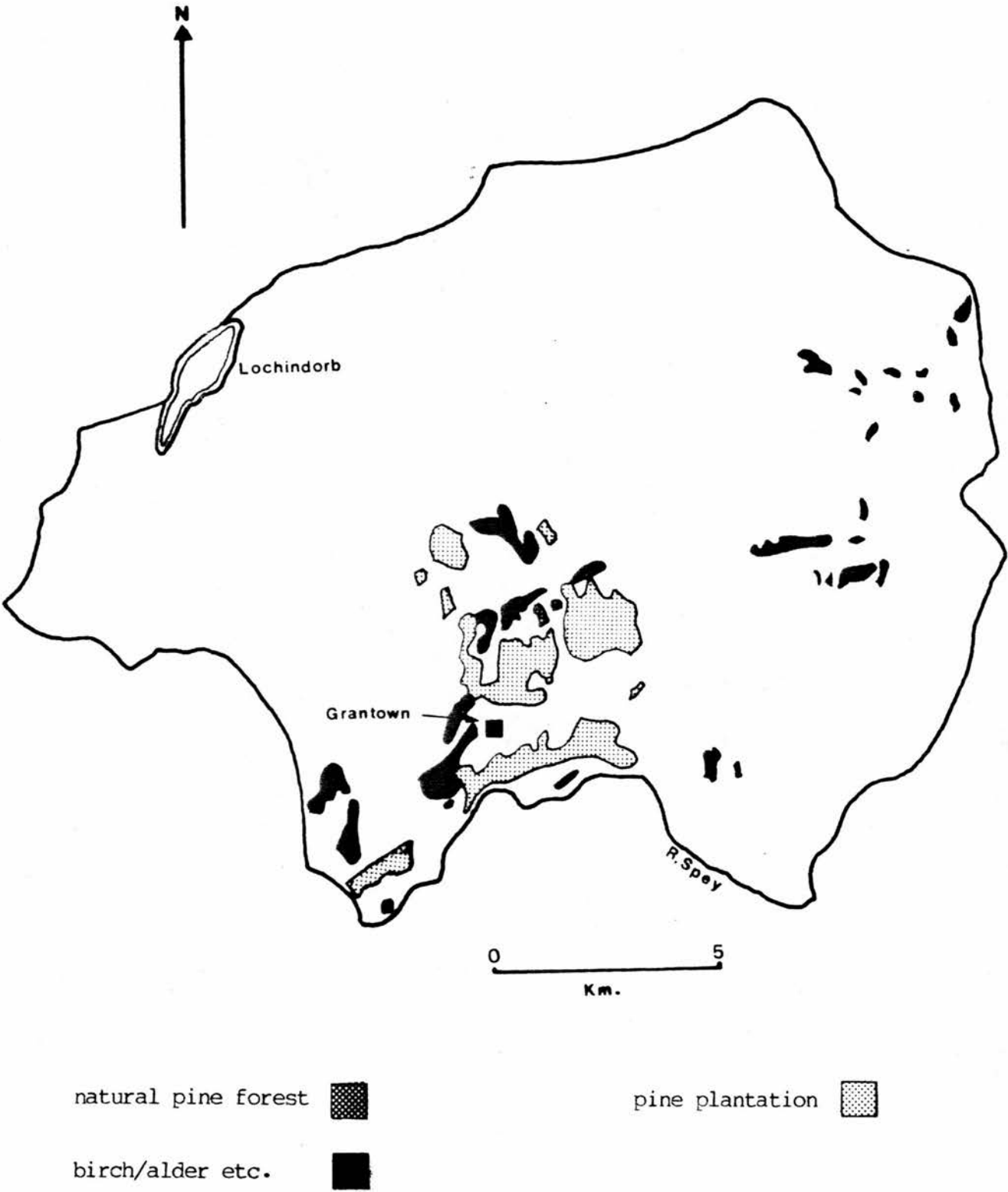


Figure 6.2 Duthil; pine forest, plantations and woodland,
c.1810



Figure 6.3 Cromdale; pine forest, plantations and woodland.
c.1810



Chapter 7.

A Sporting Estate.

A New Land Use Revolution.

From the early years of the 19th century highland land owners were responding to a new demand for deer stalking, grouse shooting and fishing which were fast becoming respectable seasonal pastimes for a wealthy elite of industrial, political and military gentlemen. In order to provide a more profitable source of income from land, which till then had been used exclusively as rough grazing, large tracts of the Scottish uplands were to be turned over to sport in a process which has been described as 'the second land-use revolution in the Highlands.'⁽¹⁾ This process has generally been associated with the establishment of deer forests between 1870 and 1910 when many sheep farms were abandoned as unprofitable in the face of lowland and foreign competition. The development of grouse shooting on the drier heather moorland of the north-east Grampians at an earlier date was, however, a similar 'revolution' of no less importance to individual estates such as Strathspey.

In the 1830s Col. Francis Grant began to promote a policy of commercial sporting land use with the seasonal leasing of extensive grouse moors. At a time of upland agricultural stagnation the creation of a new form of estate income from sport was certainly revolutionary in that its subsequent development was to exceed the expectations of both Col. Grant and his estate management. However, it can be shown that the sporting potential of Strathspey was only realised as the result of an evolutionary process that had been going

on for at least a century. During this period conservation of game for the land owner and his circle was adapted to meet the needs of a growing interest in highland sport in response to which there evolved a formal system of shooting under written licence and regulation. From this basis of organisation it was only a short step towards the shooting lease - a revolutionary change in land use policy directed towards the making of a sporting estate.

With the establishment of shooting tenure over extensive ranges of summer grazing a dual land use conflict was to arise between the sportsman and the hill farmer. Overstocking and muirburn were to be the two principal areas of contention that would prompt the estate management to introduce new regulations and to reorganise upland holdings in order to resolve the situation. The ultimate enclosure of deer forests at Abernethy and Kinveachy was the final step in a process that was to create a pattern of stylish shooting lodges and bothies and was to preserve an open heathland landscape on the periphery of the Strathspey Estate.

The Early Hunt.

Until the 17th century hunting and hawking in the 'Forrests and Warrenis' had been a royal privilege, the right to take game being granted to gentry by the king whose royal forests covered vast areas of Scotland in the 12th - 14th centuries. Game was protected under feudal law by the Leges Forestarium or Forest Laws including a number of hunting rules which enacted in the first instance that 'Gif anie hunt within the Kingis forest without licence he sall pay £10.'(2)

In the Highlands great deer hunts were organised from time to time by lairds and chieftains who called out their tenants and clansmen to drive the deer towards hunting stations situated at the head of the elrick (gaelic: eilerig), a natural trap in the form of a small V-shaped valley.(3) Dean Monro in 1549 describing one such deer drive on the island of Jura wrote:

All the deiris of the west part of the forest will be calit west again by tynchells to that narrow entres, and the next day callit west again by tynchells throw the said narrow entres, and infinit deir slain there.(4)

A similar but more detailed account of deer-driving in the time of King James VI was written by the Englishman John Taylor who was present at a magnificent chase in the Braes of Mar in 1618. There he recorded:

...five or six-hundred men does rise early in the morning, and they doe disperse themselves diverse wayes, and seven. eight or ten miles compas they do bring or chase the deer in many herds (two, three or four hundred in a herd) to such and such a place as the nobleman shall appoint them.

After three hours the deer were chased into the narrow valley where:

...with dogs, gunnes, arrows. durkes and daggers, all in the space of two hours, four score fat deare were slain.(5)

Place names still reflect the early days of the hunt indicating the nature of forest cover, the presence of game, or the location of former natural deer traps. In the hills of Abernethy Parish the deer drive culminated in the elrick to the west of Glenbrown in the valley of the Iomadaidh Burn which flows with its 'many tributaries' towards Bridge of Brown. The steep, sloping Tom nan Damh mora, the 'knoll of the big stag', faces the Elrick Burn which runs down on the opposite

side of the valley to join the Iomadaidh close to the ruins of Rynelrich, an 18th century hill improvement on the Rea Ault n-ellrick or former shieling place of Glenbrown.(6)

In the parish of Duthil another Strathspey elrick suggested by the existing place name may well have been the Creag Ealraich above the Beum a' Chleidheimh on the Duthil Burn road to Lochindorb. Similarly, on the upper reaches of the Dulnain River, there is the site of a former hill improvement called Dalnashalag, possibly dail na sealg or 'meeting place of the hunt.'(7) Another place of the hunt in early times is suggested by the name Inishalag, the site of a shieling not far from the Ryvoan bothy south of the Abernethy Forest.

The Conservation of Game.

Out of the medieval Forest Laws there emerged a series of game laws principally designed to safeguard land owners against injury to crops and stock and to prevent the extinction of wild animals thought desirable for good sport and the dining table. Although Scots Law was generally more concerned with pasturage than game thirty Acts were introduced between 1424 and 1621 with the purpose of encouraging the destruction of vermin such as 'ruikes, crawes and uther foules of riefte', and of protecting valuable game from the effects of muirburn, egg-stealing and poaching, especially when at their most vulnerable during the winter months and the breeding season.(8)

In Scotland the Game Laws did not recognise property in animals which were ferae naturae until reduced into possession by the huntsman.(9) However, by an Act of 1621 the link between ownership of land and the right to kill game was established, 'a plough of land in

heritage' becoming the qualification to hunt and hawk.(10) Despite this the highland crofter never reconciled himself to the private ownership of game which he reckoned to be 'the unconfined bounty of heaven' and, on occasions, an essential supplement to his diet. Consequently the creach, or foray into the hills, remained a feature of highland life that caused no little trouble to the land owner for many years to come. Such an attitude prompted an early 19th century comment that:

It is not easy to convince a Highlander that a landlord has a better right to a deer, a moor fowl, or a salmon than he has himself.(11)

In 1685 and 1707 two additional Acts for preserving game confirmed and extended the sporting rights of landed proprietors. Individual estate regulations enforced through the Baron Court attempted to outlaw the casual poacher, but more particularly the notorious 'common fowler' whose business was to trade in game. In Strathspey a penalty of £50 Scots was imposed in 1725 for the offence of shooting 'a deer in the Laird of Grant's forestry.'(12) On the remote farm of Delnabo, feued from the Duke of Gordon, estate regulations obliged Duncan Grant of Auchernack on taking possession in 1736 'to keep the Acts and Statutes of his Grace the said Duke of Gordon anent such as slay deer and Roe within his Graces bounds without his Graces licence', the fine in this instance being a possible 20 merks.(13)

When James Grant of Grant took over the management of his father's property his main concern was to increase agricultural output, a goal to be achieved in part by settling large numbers of

hill improvers on ground previously uncultivated, or at most utilised as shieling sites for several weeks in the summer. With the expansion of settlement further into the hills casual poaching and disturbance of game became an ever increasing problem. John Grant of Tullochgriban, factor of Strathspey, was to report in June 1764 that:

There was plenty of game in Glentulchen before any part of it was improved. But verry little now as the people are turning numerous in the Hill. There is no method of bringing it back again while the hill is possessed. (14)

The power of the Baron Court to deal with poaching offences was considerably reduced by the Heritable Jurisdictions Act which followed the 1745 Jacobite Rising. Nevertheless, land owners in the Elgin district were aware of the need to contain an active and growing trade in game that passed from the moors of the Grampian uplands through the hands of professional gangs of poachers and dealers to the larders of the Moray, Banff and Aberdeenshire coast. Consequently, in March 1765, at a meeting of the Quarter session of the Peace a move was made by the Justices of the Peace to ensure the enforcement of the existing Game Laws with the passing of the following resolution:

The Justices also considering that there are many idle people who pass through this country with Gunns Dogs & Nets as notoroius Poachers to the waste of their own time and in open violation of the Laws made yre anent in Execution and appoint the constables in the several parishes to apprehend all such persons as they shall find hunting with Dogs Guns or Net who are not possessed of a licence. (15)

Little heed was taken of this resolution and poaching continued in the usual fashion, even though in the following year 'Power for Preserving the Game' in Strathspey was given to Donald McKenzie, tenant of the hill improvement of Aittendow on the Dava Moor, who was commanded by James Grant of Grant to:

Take particular care of my Forrestry of the Parishes of Cromdale

and Inverallen and be very observant that no person or persons of whatever Rank or Degree enter into these Forrestrys to hunt or fowl with Gun, Dog, Net or any other engine hurtful or prejudicial to the game without order & special Leave for so doing.(16)

The location of the gamekeeper was obviously chosen to overlook a large number of hill improvers on the open moor and to guard the northern boundary of Strathspey against lowland poachers and the encroachments of hunting parties from neighbouring estates.

But occasionally poaching took place in the opposite direction as in August 1801 when Lord Fife complained to Sir James Grant that 'there does lodge an abominable set of poachers in Abernethy, they have come to my seat with dogs 6 guns, burnt part of my Furniture and my Forrests and they had very near shot one another...(17)

With poaching on the increase the responsibility for preserving game had been extended by 1796 to 3 keepers - Alexander McGregor in Duthil, Allan Grant McLea in Cromdale and Allan Grant in Abernethy.(18) But it was more than these men could do to prevent tenants from killing the game on their own doorsteps. The rule prohibiting poaching included in the 'Blue Book' of estate regulations, had even less effect and blatant poaching continued. Lt. John Stewart, writing to Col. Grant in 1833 about the previous season's shooting, could only comment that he did not believe 'that any part of your grounds on the south side of the Spey was free of poaching.'(19) Four years later the situation had not improved when John Grant, the factor, complained about the sons of the tenants at Delnabo who had become 'notorious poachers constantly going to the hills as a gang with four double barrel guns & four pointer dogs' to shoot grouse which they sold to a dealer in Aberdeen.(20)

Obtaining Leave to shoot.

Without consideration of financial profit Sir James Grant of Grant was clearly concerned about the welfare of his deer and game. This may be put down to a desire to maintain the image of a highland laird who could offer his friends a day's sport or present his guests at the dinner table with game and venison culled from his own land. In a portrait of Sir James by David Allan the contrasts in his style are neatly illustrated. The great 'improver' is portrayed holding his plan for the new village of Grantown-on-Spey, the blue-print for future wealth and prosperity; whilst in the background he keeps the company of a kilted gamekeeper and his hound who look out onto the open hills of Strathspey, the realm of an old-style highland chief and his kinsman. In later years Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus recalled something of his style when she described the grand banquets that used to take place at Castle Grant during the shooting season:

Generally about fifty people sat down to dinner there in the great hall in the shooting season, of all ranks. There was not exactly a 'below the salt' division so marked at the table, but the company at the lower end was of a very different description from those at the top, and treated accordingly with whisky punch instead of wine....Sir James Grant was hospitable in the feudal style; his house was open to all; to each and all he bade a hearty welcome, and he was glad to see his table filled, and scrupulous to pay fit attention to every individual present; but in spite of much cordiality of manner it was somewhat in the King style. The chief condescending to the Clan, above the best of whom he considered himself extremely.(21)

The provision of venison, wildfowl or game for occasions such as these was entrusted to one man, usually a forester or game keeper. Alexander Fraser, for example, a forester in Abernethy during the 1760s, held his tenancy of the small croft of Rueduack rent free in return for the provision of roe deer for the Grant family. A similar

arrangement existed over 40 years later when on 4 October 1803 an agreement was made between Sir James Grant and John Stewart, a servant, stipulating that for a wage of £10 sterling per year plus 2 pecks of meal per week Stewart should 'work at any work that he is desired when not employed at either fishing or fowling - and if much employed at hunting he is (to) have an allowance for shoes.' (22)

Throughout his lifetime Sir James maintained a non-commercial interest in the conservation of game on his estates where it was possible to obtain the privilege of shooting, rent free on an annual basis. Traditionally, shooting arrangements amongst the land owning fraternity had been of a casual nature, usually without formal written agreement or regulation as in the case of Sir Archibald Dunbar who shot annually as a young man over the Earl of Fife's moors at Dulsie Bridge. Writing to the young Captain Dunbar the Earl, himself a keen sportsman, confirmed that 'I beg leave to assure you that I hope you will use no ceremony to hunt, shoot or sport on any grounds of mine.' (23)

A similar arrangement existed between Sir James Grant and the wealthy Colonel Thomas Thornton whose description of a sporting tour through the Scottish Highlands did so much to generate interest in the Highlands as a sporting resort. Thornton, an eccentric Yorkshire gentleman and ex-army officer, had trekked north on several occasions between 1782 and 1789 accompanied by a small group of equally wealthy and eccentric sporting companions. With an assorted collection of rifles, guns, dogs and hawks they assaulted the Highlands by land and sea, travelling northwards in 1786 to arrive in Badenoch and Strathspey where they met up with provisions which had been shipped to

Findhorn. En route they camped under canvas or stopped off at the more comfortable hostelries such as the Aviemore Inn, formerly declared disreputable but then much improved under the management of James Macgregor who had recently been brought north by Sir James Grant from the famous Green Inn at Kinross.

In Speyside they found a sporting paradise and generous hospitality extended by local land owners keen to take part in an enthusiastic though haphazard cull of deer, game, wildfowl and fish. While at Aviemore Inn they were joined by the Laird of Mackintosh for a rather disorganised attack on Abernethy Forest, Tulloch Moor and Loch Pityoulish in a typical contemporary sporting scene described by Thornton in his diary:

September 23 - Day most desirable for my pursuit. Got up by six o'clock, and, after breakfast, went towards camp, expecting the Laird of McIntosh, for whom the hawks were kept hooded, and almost ruined for want of Mr.P. and Captain McIntosh to shoot: They soon, however, met me with the pointers: for I had no wish to mix mine with such lewd dogs as Highland pointers are: and, we afterwards separated, each following his own plan: and, now having given my bullet-gun to one of my servants, and my shot-gun to another, I ordered them to take a pointer, in utrumque paratus, either for roebuck or black-game, and to proceed on the road, where I should soon overtake them on horseback.(24)

It seems likely that most of the party had little knowledge of whose property they were shooting on and even less knowledge of what to expect in the way of deer or game. Although Thornton had bagged 20 to 30 brace of grouse in a day's shooting the variability of returns reflects the casual and indiscriminate nature of the sport at that time. On the day described, for example, the following assorted

returns were recorded:

Returns; Mr.Parkhurst shot one moor-game, three partridges; Captain McIntosh, three brace and a half; hawks with the Laird of McIntosh, three brace; Crosly killed eleven trout.

Little impression of the existing stock of game can be inferred from the quoted shooting returns in Thornton's diary, although a local tenant farmer in Strathspey had led him to believe that considerable numbers of grouse were frequently present on the Lochindorb, Dava and Glentulchan moors despite the settlement of hill improvers:

Moor-game come still lower down, when the dreadful storms, felt among these mountains, begin; and in very severe weather, particularly in the winter of 1782 and 1783, a very creditable farmer assured me, that he had seen them feeding among his cattle and fowles. They form flocks, as I am informed, of three and four thousand; but, as I never was, nor do I wish ever to be here in winter, I cannot pledge myself for e truth of this, any more than for any other Highland stories; but I believe it very possible.(25)

At any rate Thornton was impressed with the sporting potential of Strathspey, describing the open moor beyond Castle Grant as 'very even, and well adapted for shooting, which may be followed more conveniently here, on horseback, than in any place in Scotland.(26)

The granting of shooting licences without condition to sportsmen such as Thornton had always been based on the assumption that gentlemen would behave in a responsible manner by leaving enough breeding game on the ground to survive till the following season. To this end the land owner had been backed by new game legislation introduced in 1773 'for the more effectual Preservation of the Game in that part of Great Britain called Scotland.'(27) This Act superceded most of the earlier Game Laws but in addition laid down a close-season for 'muirfowl', 'heathfowl' and partridges and a ban on muirburn between 11 April and 1 November. Despite the employment of keepers

and the backing of the law, the excesses of both poacher and sportsman alike made it necessary in 1805 for Sir James Grant to intimate to his keepers, foresters and ground officers that all shooting licences were to be recalled, stating 'his intention of giving leave to no person to shoot on his moors this season.'(28) In declaring a 'jubilee season' for the game Sir James expressed a naive hope that 'everyone in the county will unite in seeing that the rest to the poor birds is complete.'(29)

By the time Sir James Grant's son, Col. Francis Grant, came to manage the enlarged Seafield Estates including Strathspey, it was apparent that an occasional 'rest to the poor birds' would not be sufficient to conserve an adequate stock of game. Consequently, from the beginning of the 1817 shooting season permission to shoot was accompanied by a set of regulations which effectively became the first written code of conduct for sportsmen on the estate:

Game

July 1817

Colonel Grant, in order to preserve the game on the Seafield Estate, has found it proper to establish the following regulations which he expects every gentleman obtaining leave to shoot or course will strictly observe:-

1. No shooting or coursing is permitted on any part of the grounds or moors of the Estate situated within three miles of Cullen House.
 2. The Red Deer and Roes are not to be killed at any season on any part of the Estate without special instruction.
 3. It is expected that no gentleman who has leave to sport will exceed the bounds of moderation in the number or quantity of game he may kill.
 4. No permission to shoot or lease is extended beyond one season.
- (30)

Permission to shoot under these conditions continued on a more

formal, though non-commercial basis as more interest in coursing, shooting and fishing was aroused amongst both local gentry and southern visitors. Capt. Charles Grant of Greenparks regularly came with his friends to shoot over the Carr Bridge moors during the 1820s, whilst on the south side of the Spey, in Abernethy, the privilege of shooting was maintained by four resident principal tenants, Capt. Gordon, Revack; Capt. Macdonald, Coulmakyle; Capt. Grant, Birchfield; and Mr. Forsyth, Dell. Sporting conditions were elaborated by 1832 to exclude shooting within six miles of Lochindorb, Cullen House and Castle Grant; to include pheasant and black game under the game rules; and to ensure that only the individual named on the shooting ticket could hunt on the estate.(31) By that time shooting arrangements had formalised almost to the point of a lease with printed conditions and a licence in the following style:

Colonel Grant presents his compliments to 'X', and allows him to shoot this season in terms of the prefixed regulations to which he is requested to pay particular attention.(32)

The gradual evolution of a formalised system of game conservation allied to sporting interest had reached a stage where the estate administration had become responsible for the appointment of a handful of keepers to enforce the Game Laws and the estate regulations, for the organisation of annual shooting licences and for the formulation of a written code of shooting practice. Every effort had been made in these directions primarily to ensure a good day's sport for Col. Grant's friends and for the principal tenants of Strathspey. Such efforts, however, could not continue indefinitely without some form of financial return, and it is only surprising that shooting grounds had not been leased long before this time. The demand had been there

and was recognised as early as March 1808 by George Brown, while working on the survey of Strathspey Estate. He wrote to Sir James Grant concerning the lease of Inverlaidnan Farm in the parish of Duthil:

I see in the first page of the Inverness Journal an advertisement from, a sportsman in England, wanting such a place, and to apply to the publisher - I think now where on earth could such a man be so fitted, being Exactly in terms of the advertisement, and these people of large fortune care little about rent.(33)

Sir James, however, chose to ignore any suggestion of rented shooting at that stage, preferring to continue the system of granting seasonal licences to friends and principal tenants. It was to be over 20 years before the matter was again given serious consideration. In the mean time a number of highland estates had already begun to develop their sporting assets to cater not just for the casual leisure activities of the landed few but also for anyone wealthy enough to pay for the privilege of shooting. The last deer hunt in the old style had taken place on the Atholl Estate in 1800, but in the same year a new era of sporting began with the lease of deer grounds on the upper Deeside estate of Abergaldie.(34) Thus, during the first two decades of the 19th century, sporting opportunities and their financial implications had been identified in the Scottish Highlands.

The fashion for deer stalking was eventually to become more popular during the latter half of the 19th century but owed its origin in those early days to a few landed proprietors who developed and extended traditional hunting grounds to meet the new demand for sport. The Dukes of Gordon, for example, had always maintained part of Glenfiddich in the parish of Mortlach as a deer forest. Their keen interest in sport was noted by Thornton who made reference to the

Duke's possession of 'several fine hawks of the peregrine and gentle falcon species' and of a true Highland Greyhound which was 'in great vogue in former days, and used in vast numbers at the magnificent stag chases, by powerful chieftains.'(35) Georgina, daughter of the 4th Duke of Gordon and wife of the 6th Duke of Bedford is attributed with arousing an early enthusiasm for highland sport as a result of her frequent visits to Speyside.(36) A house guest on many occasions was the famous landscape artist Edwin Landseer whose engravings and paintings in association with the publications of William Scrope did so much to attract sportsmen to the north in later years. The Art of Deerstalking, published by Scrope in 1838 with illustrations by Charles and Edwin Landseer proved a great success to be followed in 1845 by a second updated edition entitled Days of Deerstalking.

Gaick Forest in the parish of Kingussie had been let as a sheep walk from 1782 until 1814, but was returned to its former use as a deer forest when the Marquis of Huntly acquired it from his father. In 1830 Gaick was purchased by Mr. Macpherson Grant of Ballindalloch from the Gordon Estate Trustees and let, still as a deer forest, to Sir Joseph Radcliffe of Milnesbridge House, Yorkshire, whose wife, Jacobina, was the youngest daughter of General John Macdonell of Seagh.(37) On either side the Forests of Glenfeshie and Ardverikie numbered amongst several tracts of land in the Grampians to be consigned to the red deer. By the 1840s the expansion of deer forests was viewed by the critical eye of Robert Somers 'rising up like mushrooms' to displace both the sheep farmer and the small tenant who could not compete with the rent offered by the wealthy industrialist-turned sportsman. In an emotive letter on the rapid extension of deer

forests Somers attacked what he saw as the final destruction of the valuable creations of labour and the slow changes of centuries - 'all extirpated by a word, in order that deer may enjoy the luxury of solitude, and sportsmen monopolise the pleasure of the chase.'(38) Although many of his comments were biased and dramatic, land owners such as the Earl of Seafield were anxious to avoid widely publicised criticism of this kind.

It seems likely, therefore, that the Seafield Estate did not embark upon the establishment of deer forest at this stage for two reasons. First, the estate management was unwilling to arouse public attention and possible condemnation by reversing a policy of encouraging settlement, initially instigated to promote agriculture and industry in Strathspey. The creation of large scale deer grounds would inevitably have entailed removal of many improvers still remaining in the hills and reduction of considerable areas of summer grazing important to tenant farmers. Secondly, the dry heather moors of Strathspey were more productive of game than of deer, a point already demonstrated by the developing interest in grouse shooting there.

The fact that grouse moors continued to remain unlet until the 1830s may be attributed to the intractable nature of John Grant of Congash, the Strathspey factor. Unwilling to risk any land use conflict or adverse comment that might arise from sporting tenure he preferred to pursue the policy of Sir James Grant, considering the privilege of shooting to be vested with the Laird and his circle of friends.(39) The changes that did eventually take place were largely

brought about by John Fraser, the Seafield Estate cashier at Cullen House, who realised that a growing demand for shooting could be met by letting the moors of Strathspey. Col. Francis Grant himself had no doubts as to the potential of the grouse moors and was able to win over the reluctant factor to the idea of shooting tenure, a notion that was not accepted without reservation.(40)

Shooting Grounds to Let.

In May 1833 a new era began when John Fraser wrote to Captain Grant in Strathspey to announce Col. Grant's approval of trying to lease the shooting of Abernethy and the Davoch of Delnabo.(41) Suggesting that an annual rent of £200 or £250 would be reasonable, and that Coulmakyle would make a suitable residence for the shooting tenant Col. Grant placed an advertisement in the press and circulated particulars to a number of exclusive London clubs:

Extensive shooting grounds to let in the north of Scotland - Over 50,000 Scots Acres, containing all the varieties both of Highland and Lowland game, with excellent dwelling House beautifully situated & Stabling.

Also

A less extensive range of shooting in the vicinity of Inverness.

Application to be made (post paid) to John Fraser Esq., Cullen House, N.B. or to D.Stoddart Esq., 17 Charles Street, St. James' Square. (42)

Overwhelmed by the response to this advertisement even John Fraser was surprised at the demand for shootings which surpassed all his expectations. Writing to the Strathspey factor just prior to the beginning of the grouse season in August he remarked that:

The rage for shooting quarters this season seems to be extraordinary - more than half my time for weeks past has been occupied in answering letters on the subject... I cannot conceive what has made this season so very prolific of English sportsmen.(43)

As offers continued to pour in Col. Grant decided that there might be no harm in trying to find a tenant for the Carr Bridge shootings extending to 30,000 acres(12,245Ha.) with accommodation at the Carr Bridge Inn.(44) A further 10,000 acres(4,082Ha.) at Duthil were also to be made available although it was thought best to reserve such an area for private shooting parties.

By early July both Abernethy and Carr Bridge shootings had been settled for the season. Lord Arbuthnott and friends from Aberdeenshire were given a lease of the Abernethy range for one year at a rent of £200 (45) and Captain Dixon of the Grenadier Guards took the Carr Bridge moor at a rent of £130.(46) This was the beginning of a sporting enterprise that was rapidly to develop into a major new source of income for the Seafield Estate. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that the 1833 season was distinguished by a generous game bag.(47) At Carr Bridge there were complaints of 'comparatively speaking nothing to shoot', four days with three guns returning only seven or eight brace of grouse (48), whilst at Abernethy Lord Arbuthnott was only able to take 75 brace before losing patience and leaving for home in early September.(49) The scarcity of game, attributed by John Grant to the rainy weather, resulted in a £50 abatement of rent at Abernethy and a 50% rent rebate at Carr Bridge.(50)

Despite a faltering start the letting of grouse moors was to continue although the principal tenants of Strathspey were still for a

few years to be allowed permission to shoot in the old way on hare and partridge grounds specially reserved for the 'Country Gentlemen'.(51) But by the mid 1840s leased shooting had been established on 8 ranges throughout the estate bringing in in a sporting rental of £1,190. (Table 7.1)

Table 7.1

Estimates of Strathspey Shooting Ranges, 1845.

Range	Extent (acres)	Rent
Glentulchen	15,000	£150
Castle Grant	14,000	140
Lochindorb	20,000	200
Carr Bridge	20,000	200
Aviemore	7,000	50
Abernethy	45,000	300
Cromdale Hill	15,000	100
Dalvey	7,000	50
		<u>£1,190</u>

Source: GD 248/1580

Early experience and the prospect of an increasing demand from the south for shootings led the estate administration to pursue two policies designed to enhance the sporting asset. First, in order to ensure the conservation of the game resource it was thought necessary to encourage the sporting tenants to have a longer association with their shooting ranges. This was to be achieved by the extension of the single year lease to one of a medium term and by the construction of purpose-built shooting lodges throughout the estate. Secondly, in an attempt to avoid conflict between sportsman and farmer it was essential to reorganise the hill grazings and to introduce new regulations for the control of stocking rates and management techniques such as controlled muirburn.

Leases for periods of 3,5,7 or 10 years were granted in the hope that tenants would not overshoot the grouse but maintain an adequate stock of game in their own interest.(52) The Cromdale shooting, for example, was let in 1845 to a Robert Bruce for ten years at an annual rent of £100 (53), and four years later the Abernethy range was taken on a popular seven-year lease for £400 by Spencer Steers, a wealthy Liverpool businessman.(54) The minute of agreement for a seven-year lease of the 20,000 acre(8,163Ha.) Lochindorb shooting to Archibald Campbell of Blythwood in June 1844 illustrates the emphasis placed on the conservation of game. In a condition brought forward from the regulations attached to former shooting tickets it was expressed that:

It is left to the Gentlemanly feelings of the lessee to kill the game in such a fair and sportsmanlike manner as may leave a reasonable breeding stock on the ground at the close of each shooting season.(55)

In order to ensure the return of wealthy shooting tenants such as Spencer Steers and the Yorkshire gentleman, Philip Saltmarshe, Col. Grant embarked upon a programme of lodge building designed to provide almost palatial accommodation, not only for the sporting tenant but also for his entire party of friends, family and staff. Initially, shooting tenants had taken up residence at houses and inns such as Coulmakyle, Knockanbie, Castle Grant, Lochindorb cottage, Carr Bridge Inn and Aviemore Inn - all adapted to suit the needs of sporting gentlemen who were occasionally prepared to rough it in the interests of a good day's shooting. Of these only Castle Grant, then vacant, could offer all the amenities for comfortable living in a style that was to become a model for subsequent lodges to be built on the estate.(56) In October 1849 the Strathspey factor sent to Alexander Fraser at Cullen House the plan for a new shooting lodge to be built

for Spencer Steers near Upper Dell, on the banks of the Dorback River in Abernethy Parish.(57) Dorback Lodge, constructed at a cost to the tenant of five per cent additional rent, was one of a whole suite of impressive shooting quarters that were not only to improve the home comforts of the sportsman during the shooting season but also to increase the value of the shooting ranges. Lodges in this style were to be set up in the years to come at Lochindorb, Dell, Revack, Tulchan, Delrachny, Muckerach and Kinveachy, all in association with particular moors or deer forest.(Fig.7.1)

With the introduction of the medium term lease and the construction of substantial shooting lodges it was possible for sporting tenants to maintain longstanding associations with their shooting quarters which, in effect, they came to manage on a regular basis. To this end in the 1860s they began to employ game keepers who remained on the estate throughout the year in order to manage the grouse moor but more particularly to keep a close watch over grouse stocks and the influence of poaching, muirburn and overgrazing by sheep and cattle. In September 1863 Mr. Bass, a wealthy brewer from Burton-on-Trent, holding the 15,000 acre(6,122Ha.) Glentulchan range, reported to the factor that only 40 brace had been shot in two years as a result of grouse disease. He proposed to ensure an increased stock of grouse by instigating careful management control, adding that:

It requires the most careful preservation to recover the ground, and as we have been told of poaching on the most distant beats we have placed two watchers on the ground at opposite points.(58)

Bass went on to ask that cottages be provided for his keepers and

that a list of those entitled to keep sheep be sent to him.

In the following season Mr. Arrowsmith, one of the shooting tenants at the Dell, also wrote to Mr. Smith, the factor, with notice from his keeper that:

They are doing a deal of harm to us in Tulloch by burning and setting the hills on fire, if they are not stopped the shooting will be little worth.(59)

During the summer months the newly appointed Dell keeper, Donald Anderson, moved up to the cottage at Sleich above the Abernethy Forest. This had been a hill improvement last occupied by Donald Fyffe then resident at Ellaneorn further down the River Nethy.(60)

In addition to the shooting lodge and the keeper's cottage there also appeared on remoter beats, bothies where sportsmen could shelter for lunch. Most of these wooden buildings are still located on the sites of former shielings or hill improvements such as Rie Uan in Glentulchan(61) and Corrachor west of the Duthil Burn.(62)

The conflict between sportsman and farmer became apparent in 1850 when Mr. Bass wrote to W.G. Bryson, the Strathspey factor, to complain that on the Carr Bridge moor 'the excessive number of sheep renders the propagation of grouse to any great extent quite impossible.'(63) In negotiating the terms of a new lease he was not prepared to pay more than £200 per year with the current stocking rate, but offered £300 should the number of sheep be reduced by 50%. From his experience of shooting arrangements on other properties he suggested that Lord Seafield should determine the quantity of sheep that could be run profitably on the estate and then calculate the proportion each farmer should be entitled to keep.

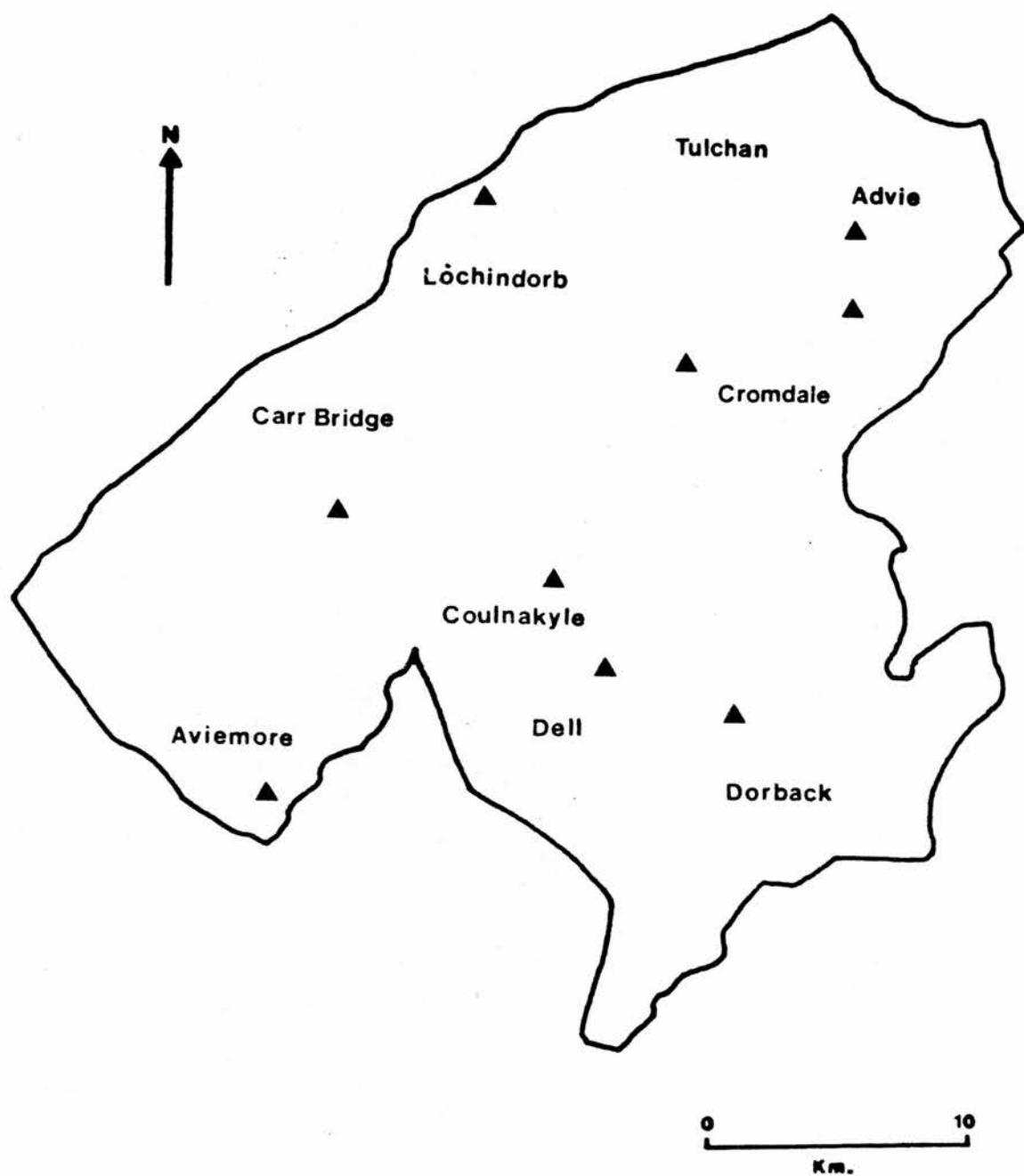


Figure 7.1

The problem of overstocking was to recur for Mr. bass when he moved to the Glentulchan range which was farmed by tenants both in common and partly as exclusive grazing.(64) There in 1870 he recommended a stocking of 650 sheep 'to give sheep and grouse fair play,'(65) a figure at odds with those of John Grant, tenant farmer at Knockanbuie, who reckoned that the glen could graze 1,200 wedders or 1,000 ewes with lambs. Favouring a wedder stock which required less labour he nevertheless recognised the strong sporting interests of the estate and suggested letting it for lambing ground after the hatching of grouse from 20 August to Martinmas in order to give a realistic grazing rent of £80-100.

Muirburn was often an area of dispute between hill grazier and shooting tenant. At a time when little was known about the management of heather moor for game sportsmen generally disapproved of burning, favouring as heavy a growth of heather as possible unlike graziers who preferred young heather for their sheep stocks. Donald Grant in Culdorachmore, for example, grazing his stock in Glentulchan, was refused permission in 1851 to burn heather at the instruction of Mr. Williams the shooting tenant. For this reason he claimed that the grazing was 'absolutely worth nothing' and requested an abatement of rent. Peter Brown, arbitrator in the affair, agreed that burning was 'just as essential to the grasing as ploughing & sowing are to the corn farm', but went on to suggest the value of burning to provide an adequate variation of young and old heather to provide food and cover for grouse. As a compromise he proposed a burning rotation of 6 or 7 years in Glentulchan which he thought might provide an adequate pattern of heather to suit the needs of both grouse and sheep. By

burning in this way he felt assured that the grouse would 'increase rather than diminish in numbers.'(67) In later years the burning of heather, although left to the discretion of the gamekeeper, had to gain the approval of the estate management.

As a means of controlling the sheep stocking rate on grouse moorland both Peter Brown in 1847 and George Mackay in the 1860s had recommended the division of common grazings with the allocation of exclusive hill land to individual farms. By 1867 this had largely been achieved and in addition the revised estate regulations of 1852 had restricted the stocking rate by allowing tenants only 5 sheep for every £1 of rent paid.(68) These measures went some way towards meliorating the situation but the conflict between sportsman and grazing tenant was to recur from time to time. At Dorback Lodge, Spencer Steers objected to Cruickshank, the tenant farmer, taking in 200 lambs to graze for two months on a good beat. With some indignation he asked of the factor in September 1870:

Is not this at variance with your rule No. 15 & your supposition as to the good effects to accrue to us by the changes from commonty?
(69)

By this time the estate shooting rental has risen to a total in excess of £3,000, ensuring a favourable disposition towards longstanding shooting tenants such as Spencer Steers who had shot over the moors of Strathspey for nearly 30 years.

The development of sport received a new impetus in the 1860s with the coming of the railway to mid-Strathspey. Backed by the 7th Earl of Seafield as a director and the Hon. Thomas Bruce, his commissioner, as chairman the Inverness and Perth Junction Railway was constructed

at a cost of £900,000 to supplement the 1858 through route from the south to Inverness via Aberdeen. On 3 August 1863 the route from Aviemore to Forres via Boat of Garten and Grantown was opened and over a month later on 9 September the line was completed with the opening of the Aviemore Pitlochry section. The patronage of Lord Seafield ensured that the new line passed through the heart of his estates not only to service agriculture and forestry but also to bring a new wave of tourists and sportsmen into the area.(70)

Now that access to the Highlands had been made easier the demand for deerstalking became the rage amongst sportsmen who followed the style set by Queen Victoria's visits to her Balmoral Estate, even to the extent of hiring special railway carriages for their shooting parties.

The Deer Forest.

Although grouse shooting had been established for some time on the heather moors of Strathspey, Lord Seafield was prompted to turn his attention to red deer, which were seen by the land surveyor George Mackay as an obvious means of increasing the sporting rental of the estate. This possibility had previously been raised by Peter Brown in his report on the arrangement of farms in Strathspey in 1847. He had suggested the removal of sheep from all the farms lying adjacent to the pinewoods of Duthil and Abernethy in order to encourage both the natural regeneration of the Scots pine and the development of a larger deer stock. Writing to Lord Seafield in September 1847 he proposed a linked system of grouse shooting and deer stalking:

Were the Forests of Duthil and Abernethy cleared of stock and the woods laid more quiet and private than they are at present deer would take to them in great numbers more especially the former which would make an excellent small forest and have not a doubt but the Forest of Duthil managed in this way together with the grouse shootings in the Bridge of Carr District would yield your Lordship £500 per annum.(71)

Despite press reports that 'deer-stalking continues a favourite field sport',(72) this proposition was not taken up at that time because of the continued demand for grouse shooting which provided a sure rental from hitherto unprofitable moorland. However, the situation was different in the late 1860s when deer forests were proved to be valuable sporting assets. On the expiry of the 6600 acre(2,694Ha.) Dell shooting lease at the end of the 1869 season Lord Seafield decided to create the first deer forest in Strathspey on the lines previously proposed by Peter Brown. In this way it was imagined that a rental of £1,000 could be realised by taking in 26,000 acres(10,612Ha.) of the Abernethy Forest. R.D.Holt, a Liverpool businessman who had held the shooting for some time, was not enthusiastic about the suggestion which prompted him to comment that 'my ideas are not those of a deer forest, a grouse shooting is all I desire, in fact I prefer the latter shooting.'(73)

Anxious to maintain the shooting tenure of the Dell, and with a good knowledge of the existing deer stock anyway, Holt eventually came to an agreement with the factor whereby he was given a further seven year lease at a rate of £600 per annum for the first two years and £1,000 per annum thereafter. At the end of the two year period he would be able to judge whether he cared for the place as a deer forest and whether it was really worth so high a rental.(74) At the same time he made an offer for the Coulnakyle moor next to the Dell

where he claimed there were large numbers of grouse and black game more to his liking. In trying to obtain this ground, which he thought would be an asset to his existing grouse moor, he still made plain his scepticism as to proposed deer forest with the caveat:

If you let the shooting to some party who only cares for the quantity of game he can get for sale then I think you will find you have done a very bad turn for the Dell ground and the prospect of the £1,000 per annum may be utterly & entirely banished or will only dwell in the fertile imagination of Mr. George McKay of Inverness. (75)

After obtaining a new lease of the Dell shootings Holt and Smith, the factor, set about devising proposals for the establishment and management of the deer forest in the months prior to the first stalking season. The scheme was to include the removal of sheep from the forest after 1 January 1870; the placing of hinds in calf in the area; the building of a gamekeeper's house; (76) the enclosure of the forest to prevent the deer moving away after calving; (77) the removal from within the area of a few remaining tenants described as 'not a good lot'; the enclosure of a small breeding ground where deer could be held until July, when forest operations ceased; (78) and the checking of 'tourists and pedestrians' from disturbing his best deer grounds 'nicely and in a courteous manner.' (79)

The creation of a deer forest grassing up to 90 stags in a season (80) provided the estate with a further sporting success that was reflected in the increased rental of the Dell shootings from an original sum of £600 in 1870 (81) to a total of £1,837 10s. over ten years later in 1881. (82) A report on the Carr Bridge shootings on the opposite side of the River Spey in 1872 suggested that there were from 70 to 80 red deer with calves in the forest near Lethendry, (83) a

figure that would not have been disputed by the farming tenant at Dalnahaitnich who claimed £66 for damages done to his 1871 crop by the deer.(84) It was, therefore, not long before a second deer forest was laid down on 11,000 acres(4,490Ha.) of the 30,000 acre(12,244Ha.) Kinveachy shootings which were eventually to be worth £1,500 annual rent in 1881. Throughout the Highlands the rapid expansion of deer forest in this way caused sporting rentals to increase dramatically. In Inverness-shire, for example, during the 25 years between 1871 and 1896 the yearly return from deer forests alone rose three-fold from £12,571 to £37,000.(85)

On the Strathspey Estate the increase in sporting rent between the years 1845 and 1870 almost matched the increase from all other sources during a period of relative agricultural prosperity. But following the introduction of deer stalking the total sporting rental more than doubled in ten years, rising until in 1936 it reached an annual figure in excess of the agricultural rent. (Table 7.2)

Table 7.2

Sporting Rental
Strathspey Estate, 1845-1935.

	Estate Rental (excluding sport)	Sporting Rental
1845	£11,051	£ 1,190
1855	11,844	1,692
1870	14,665	3,265
1906	13,465	9,441
1935	15,583	16,291

To increase the value of the shooting ranges during the 1870s Lord Seafield not only introduced the deer forest but also divided and reorganised the shooting leases on a more economical basis. Although

the four large shootings of 1834 had gradually been divided into nine leases by 1870, a further division to create 13 shooting quarters was advised by the Hon. Thomas Bruce, the commissioner, and John Smith, the factor.(Table 7.3) The reason for this policy decision was explained by Bruce commenting on the alteration of the boundaries between the Revack and Coulnakyle shootings in 1871:

I think the proposed alteration of the boundaries would be judicious as it is better economically to have a number of moderate sized shootings like Culnakyle than a few large ones which are held by several people in common & the proprietor does not get all the value of the shooting.(86)

Table 7.3

Rental of Shootings on the Strathspey Estate
Season 1870

Shooting Range	Tenant	Rent
Dell Deer Forest	R.D.Holt	£600
Coulnakyle	R.D.Holt	130
Advie	Robert Munro	175
Tulchan	M.J.Bass	450
Lochindorb	Col. H.Wilmot	350
Carr Bridge	Wm. McKenzie Keith	500 a.
Aviemore	John Phillips	200 b.
Dorback	Spencer Steers	500
Cromdale	Philip Saltmarshe	360
		<u>£3,265</u>

a. Shooting £492, Fishing £8.

b. Shooting £175, Fishing £25

Source: GD 248/1924

The 1870 leases had ranged in value from £130 to £600 per annum but by 1881 the creation of deer forest and the division of shootings had produced ranges varying in size from the 1,250 acre(510Ha.) Delnabo moor, valued at £36 per annum (7d. per acre), to the 32,471 acre(13,253Ha.) Abernethy shootings valued at £1,837 10s. per annum

(1s.1¹/₂d.per acre).

The reorganisation of shooting leases, and in particular the establishment of exclusive deer forest inevitably resulted in the removal of a small number of tenants from hill possessions and improvements in the woods. Most were offered, on the expiry of their lease, new crofting tenancies on lower ground at Boat of Garten, Drummullie and Achnahannet where they could be 'manifestly more profitable to the proprietor' on land judged by George Mackay in 1867 to be 'highly capable of improvement.'(87) Beyond the Forest of Abernethy most of the early hill improvements such as Sleich and Ryvoan had already been abandoned before the creation of the deer forest, with the result that only three tenants were removed from the crofts of Auchdergantach, and East and West Ryneerich. However, of greater long term significance was a reduction in the livestock held by Abernethy farming tenants who had formerly utilised most of the 26,000 acre deer forest as common grazing. This ultimately led to amalgamations following the later abandonment of small farms such as Bog of Ryneerich in 1880 and Doir in 1890. (88)

The original small scale removals provoked little comment at the time, but in later years were to be compared with the wholesale clearances that had been witnessed on other highland estates. In 1897 Charles Fraser-Mackintosh in a bitter indictment of Lord seafield presented a dramatic picture of Tulloch, a small area of the Strathspey Estate where:

...along this beautiful line of road the traveller passes much arable land of considerable extent, going back yearly to sour pasture, with the ruins of houses, I might say townships, standing out gaunt and bleak, guilty, memorials of the destroyer.(89)

Although grouse moor and deer forest had rapidly developed to become a major component in an integrated land use policy adding considerable value to Lord Seafield's upland estates of Strathspey and Urquhart, sport and agriculture were not seen as altogether mutually exclusive. despite a long history of sporting activity the 'second land use revolution' had indeed been witnessed between 1833 and 1870, but not entirely at the expense of crofter and farmer. In complete contrast to the acid remarks of Fraser-Mackintosh who seemed ignorant of the agricultural depression of his time, John Bright, the radical politician, was moved to comment on the Glenurquhart Estate in verse equally applicable to Strathspey:

In Highland Glens 'tis far too oft observed
That man is chased away and game preserved;
Glen Urquhart is to all a lovlier glen -
Here deer and grouse have not supplanted men. (90)

Chapter 8.

Conclusions: Idealism and Realism.

The critical and often incredulous Samuel Johnson was unusually benign in forgiving academics for their inaccurate descriptions of the Scottish landscape in writing:

When historians or geographers exhibit false accounts of places far distant, they may be forgiven because they can tell but what they are told.(1)

Although Strathspey is hardly far distant in space the period in question is certainly distant in time. The present day historical geographer, however, cannot be forgiven for inaccuracies since he is often fortunate in having access to a wide range of contemporary documents that make it possible to examine with some degree of accuracy the changing rural landscape and the motives of those involved in making these changes. The detail is important here, for within a mass of factors letters, tenant petitions, rentals and accounts are to be found the essential characteristics of the estate which in the Highland context is a unit of fundamental geographical importance.

The unifying factor amongst Scottish estates during the second half of the 18th century was the intellectual enlightenment that brought with it an urgency for social and economic reform. Thereafter, until the second half of the 19th century the momentum of change was maintained by a less philosophical opportunism born of necessity and occasional self interest. The changes that were brought about in land use and rural settlement throughout this entire period

have left an indelible mark on every corner of the Scottish rural landscape, not least in Strathspey where a traditional Highland community was gradually reshaped by land owners with lowland visions of improvement and land capability.

Improvement was the key word through the Scottish Enlightenment of the 18th century. It occupied the minds of every land owner and flowed from the pen of every social commentator, and even after the great Enlightenment had passed it lingered on if only in the vocabulary of agricultural circles where documents as mundane as general accounts were still to record the expense laid out on improvement under a heading of its own.

The improving movement was characterised by a mood of great optimism and the belief that a complete transformation of every facet of the social and economic fabric of Scotland was possible. The idealism of the time was embodied in Sir James Grant of Grant who effectively managed the Strathspey Estate for nearly half a century from 1763 until his death in 1811. His own experience in travelling throughout Britain and the Continent, as well as the exhortations and advice of countless land owners and agriculturalists instilled in him the idea that almost anything was possible. The vision that he had was no vague panacea but a clear cut approach towards an ideal end that was explicitly spelt out for him by the chief advisor and mentor of his youth, William Lorimer.

The task was one of stimulating economic growth amidst a highland community whose traditional way of life was geared to a pastoral system within which there seemed little prospect of economic

advancement. Since the highland farmer would naturally be reluctant to change his ways overnight the approach had to be a gradual one. By first of all encouraging tenants 'to till more ground and to till it better' less land would be needed to maintain their cattle and the improved techniques of cultivation would become common practice. The next step however required a great act of faith in believing that necessity would 'make them apply to the raising of corne,' which tenants would consequently find more profitable and 'preferable to pasture.' Finally, the transition from pastoralism to arable farming would, it was thought, lead to an increased number of tenants who would eventually supply a labour force that would allow Sir James Grant 'to form a town and raise manufactures.'⁽²⁾ The manufacturing town was to be the ultimate goal - the door to industrial wealth which, hand in hand with vastly increased farm rents, would guarantee economic prosperity throughout the estate.

It seemed unthinkable that all of this could not be achieved. There was apparently no need for the financially pressed Sir James Grant to invest large sums of money in Strathspey farm by farm even if it had been possible, that was to be done with suitable incentives by the tenant farmers themselves. His role was simply that of a catalyst who, with a skilled team of professionals including the omnipresent land surveyor, was there to 'encourage and direct' the improvement of his estate. In the early 1760s the stage seemed set for a remarkable programme of improvement that would utterly reshape the face of Strathspey, transforming small patches of openfield cultivation amidst a waste of scrub, moor and rough pasture into a planned geometrical landscape of divided common grazings and ordered fields all neatly

enclosed by farm and field boundaries.

The final reality, however, was not as Sir James Grant and William Lorimer had planned. By the first decade of the 19th century common grazings remained undivided, the area of arable land had only marginally increased, joint tenancies had increased and rent was still paid by pastoralist tenant farmers whose income was largely derived, as it had been 50 years earlier, from the sale of livestock.(3) In short the landscape had not been totally transformed as anticipated - the idealist's dream had not come true.

Great improvements had indeed taken place on individual farms where the efforts of improvers like James Macgregor in Balliemore and Ludovick Grant in Coulnakyle were recorded by observers such as Wight(1781), Forsyth(1806) and Robertson(1808). The improved farm, however, stood out in the landscape which according to these spectators varied in agricultural appearance, reflecting an even greater social disparity between the more substantial tenants with their neat steadings and inclosed fields and the large number of crofting tenants some of whom still practised 'the most miserable agriculture.' Near Castle Grant, Coulnakyle and Balliefurth great efforts had been made to improve drainage and prevent flood damage and a programme of forest planting was initiated primarily to diversify the immediate landscape in sight of Castle Grant but also to enhance the natural regeneration of the economically valuable pinewoods of Strathspey.

The ultimate goal of a key village at Grantown had been achieved on the ground, but this had been set down prematurely in the mid 1760s

in readiness for the day when tenant farmers rich from the sale of grain would move in to generate a new industrial wealth. That day never came and artificial attempts to stimulate industry failed. The cart had been put before the horse and Grantown, now established, remained almost static surviving not as an industrial town but as an agricultural service centre, initially the resort of estate labourers and paupers and eventually the resort of tourists and sportsmen who arrived in ever increasing numbers with the coming of the railway in the 1860s.

Why then with all the will and expertise at his disposal did Sir James Grant not achieve his dream of economic growth on the grand scale? The answer becomes clear when idealism is juxtaposed with realism. Sir James Grant's policy of improvement was based on the gradual reclamation of large areas of waste ground and the implementation of improved techniques of arable cultivation that would turn the purple heather on the hills of Strathspey into a carpet of green and gold.

To this end the hill improvement scheme started by Sir Ludovick, his father was rapidly extended in the 1760s, but this ground to a halt as upland improvers were gradually driven away by poor climatic conditions, the remoteness of their holdings and most of all by direct conflict with the established pastoral tenant farmers whose best grazings were being eaten up by small holders. Since Sir James Grant needed an ever increasing income to maintain the style of life to which he had become accustomed he had no alternative but to accept the offers of higher rents submitted by the tenant farmers who were determined to regain the summer grazings lost to these improvers. The

main body of tenants were not idealists like Sir James, they too needed cash with which to survive and pay their rents but this could only be achieved with certainty by selling livestock. Furthermore, Sir James had drastically increased farm rents wherever possible during the 1770s making it all the more important that they had access to as much hill grazing as possible in order to maintain their stocks of sheep and cattle.

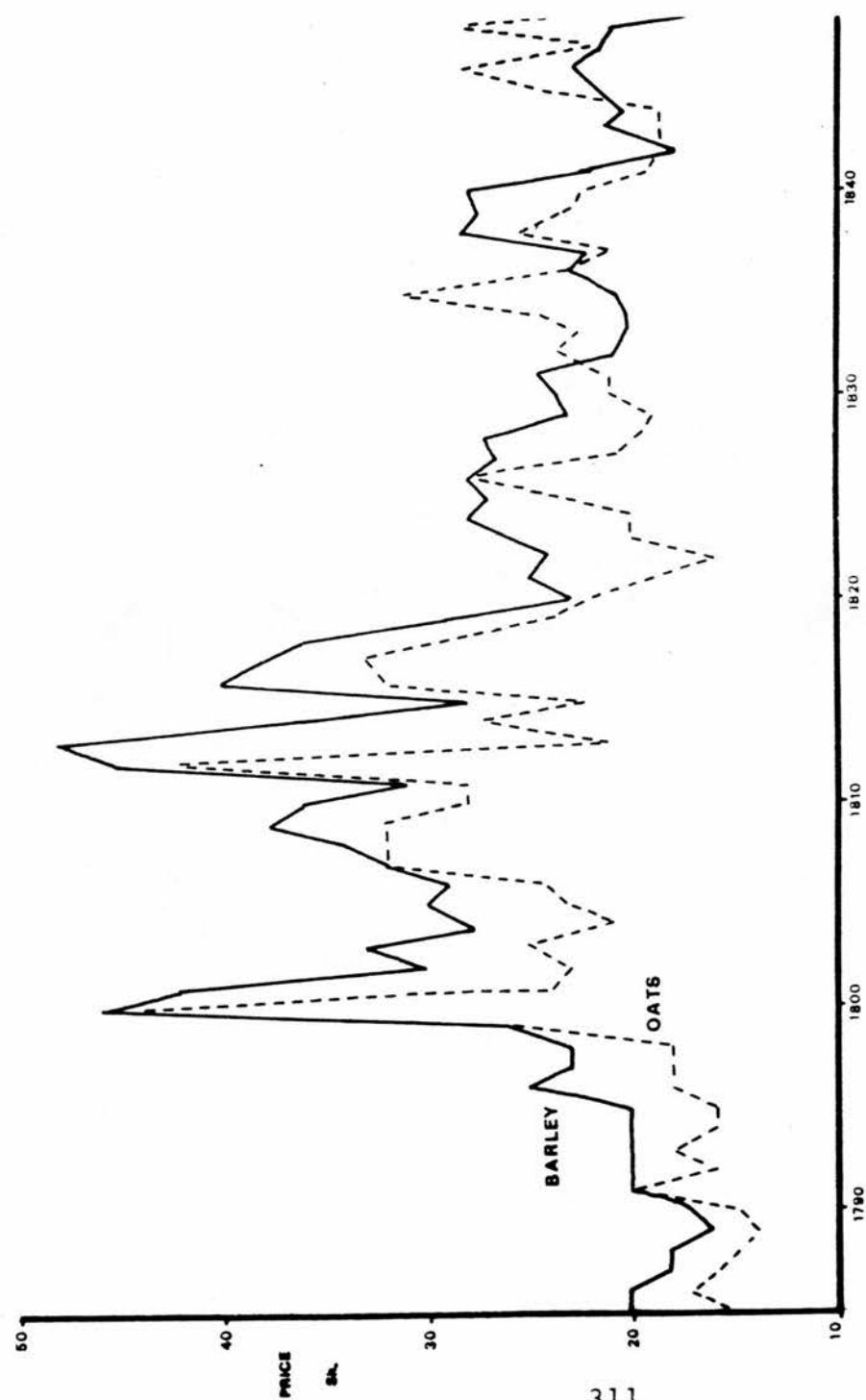
That great act of faith on which Sir James and William Lorimer had placed so much hope, the transition from pastoralist to corn grower, was barely contemplated by the tenant farmers of Strathspey. They grew enough corn to supply their needs in all but the poorest years and the thought of exporting barley and oats to distant markets where prices fluctuated widely from year to year seemed hardly realistic.(see Fig.8.1 & Appendix LXI) Tenants were encouraged to plant turnips and potatoes and to sow improved grass and clover mixtures and this they often did but only as a means of improving the carrying capacity of their holding particularly for the maintenance of stock during the winter months.

At the end of the day it was the tenant farmer responding to what he regarded as possible under existing geographical and economic conditions that dictated the extent and pace of improvement in Strathspey. The day to day practicalities of life on the tenant farm modified the planned development of the Strathspey Estate, tempering idealism with hard realism. On many a highland estate this type of tenant reaction was not possible since large numbers of tenant often had no security of tenure, thus making them vulnerable to removal at

Figure 8.1 Fiars Prices of Grain at Inverness, 1785-1850

Barley - shillings per 4 firlots; Oats - shillings per 8 stone.

Source: SC 29/67/2



the whim of the land owner. In Strathspey, where written leases of up to 19 years duration were common, tenant farmers had more legal rights and a greater degree of control over the land which they farmed. The fact that some of them could afford to pay substantial rents also gave them a bargaining power which they used to the fullest extent.

Was Sir James Grant then a failure as a great improver ? The answer to this question depends on whether he is judged on the basis of his achievements set against his original ideals or on the basis of his achievements set against the general run of improvements in the Scottish Highlands at that time. If it is the former then he hardly merits the title of 'improver' since he achieved only partial success in the first phase of his ideal scheme of improvement and economic growth, namely the increase in livestock carrying capacity. If it is the latter then there is wider scope for giving him credit for considerable achievements although some of these did not immediately manifest themselves in the landscape.

If he was to have any success in planning and directing agricultural improvement Sir James Grant had first and foremost to gain complete control over all the landholdings on his estate. Large areas of Strathspey were in the hands of wadsetters and many principal tenants had under them subtenants and cottars who did not pay rent directly to Sir James. Direct control over all landholdings, however, could not be achieved overnight. It was over 10 years before Sir James was able to redeem all the wadset lands and even then some of the former wadsetters were able to retain their lands as large 19 year tacks complete with subtenancies. A dramatic increase in rent combined with the poor harvests of the 1780s had forced Sir James to

accept a reduction in direct leases in favour of the principal tacksmen who could pay the rent he so desperately needed. At the same time the hill improvement scheme that had been so promising in the 1760s lost momentum as tenants reasserted their control over hill grazings for which they now paid rent. Short term financial necessity had forced Sir James Grant to deviate from the ideal pathway he was trying to follow. Far from the tenants producing an excess of saleable grain he was in 1782-83 and again in 1801 importing it to sell at subsidised prices during years of dearth. On the neighbouring Gordon Estate, although there had been similar moves towards increasing direct leases by subdividing large tacks, there was no planned policy of marginal land colonization rather a greater emphasis on expanding the existing arable land.(Turnock, 1977)

With the general resetting of farms in 1796 and 1807 Sir James was able to continue the process of asserting direct control over landholdings. Large tacks were reduced and many subtenancies were brought into the estate rental as direct tenancies. The growth in population that Sir James Grant had hoped for was now beginning to take place but the human resources that should have supplied the labour and capital for a growing industrial heart to the estate proved more of a liability than an asset. The industrial base had failed to materialise and the fate of those who decided to stay was to become part of a growing crofting community that was partly tied to small plots of land and partly dependent on employment in road building, in forest planting or in farm labouring.

Some land owners welcomed emigration as an answer to the problem

of a rapidly expanding population barely able to earn a living on the land while others like Sir James Grant made every effort to maintain a working population by laying down allotments or small crofting townships. On some of these estates allotments were on poor ground wholly unsuitable for cultivation, a fact that had prompted David Monro of Allan the Ross-shire agriculturalist to consider the allotment system a total waste of human labour. Rather than see men eke out a meagre existence attempting to improve marginal land he reckoned they would be better employed on lowland farms where they might earn a good wage by helping to increase output from the most easily improved land or 'when that fails emigrating to our distant and fertile colonies.' (4)

Sir James Grant learned from the failure of the hill improvement scheme and had settled his allotments on better ground at nodal points in the Strathspey valley where the pool of labour could be most beneficially used. The remnants of the hill improvement scheme and the villages created by the allotment scheme are still visible in the present day landscape of Strathspey and are, along with Grantown-on-Spey perhaps the greatest contributions made by Sir James Grant to the settlement pattern of the area. That they have survived in the role of hill farm and agricultural service centre is in itself a measure of success although the end result was not as Sir James had envisaged it in the 1760s.

The crofting community was to make a growing contribution to the estate rental but this was not a community that had been displaced from arable holdings to make way for the sheep farmer. Although there had been an increase in the number of sheep grazed by tenant farmers

neither Sir James or his successors were tempted to encourage large scale sheep farming. In Strathspey this would hardly have been a practical move given the balance that existed between hill grazings and the capacity of individual farms to grow hay, to graze cattle and sheep on permanent or rotational grass and to grow enough turnips potatoes and grain to feed the tenant, his family and his livestock. The pattern of discrete farm holdings that had existed in the 18th century consequently carried on into the 19th century in more or less the same form, maintaining a continuity that was only altered by minor adjustments such as the addition of exclusive grazings to farm holdings, the straightening of marches and the occasional amalgamation or separation of holdings. In some cases the continuity is exemplified by members of the same family occupying a tenancy for several generations.

The principal legacy that Sir James Grant left to his successors in Strathspey was one of organizational change. In his lifetime the structure of landholding on the estate had been reorganized to give greater control over individual farm units. It was now possible for the estate management to rationalise farm production at any time by a simple process of division or consolidation as leases expired, to apply regulations to the entire estate tenantry and to acquire land at any time for forest planting. The organizational groundwork was laid for the technical improvements that were to follow at a more rapid pace in later years. However, the division of common grazings that has been seen as a prerequisite to agricultural improvement did not take place. This process was not even advocated by George Brown the land surveyor who perhaps saw the advantage of Sir James being able to

manipulate the vast expanse of open hill and moor whenever it was necessary to set off land for forest planting or for sport. This could not have been achieved so easily if the entire estate had been divided up as exclusive grazing for tenants on 19 year leases.

The years following Sir James Grant's death were marked by great changes in the principal objects of management on the Strathspey Estate. These were occasioned by the inheritance of the extensive Seafield Estates with the consequent movement of management control from Castle Grant to Cullen. Strathspey was now a peripheral estate and although Col. Francis Grant was keen to stimulate economic growth he did not see his upland territory in Strathspey playing a major role in this as his father had done. Agricultural development was not, therefore, seen as a step towards the ultimate goal of industrial wealth. The possibility of increasing the total farm rental now seemed limited but this is not to say that Strathspey was to be relegated to the status of a sporting playground where the laird and his circle would come to shoot grouse and deer in the old style. On the contrary there was every possibility of increasing the value of the estate as a whole not by the replacement of one type of farming enterprise by another or by abandoning farming altogether but by adopting an integrated approach to land use. The diversification of estate management policy lead first of all to the extension of forest planting to meet the growing demand for timber and secondly to the initiation of sporting leases to satisfy the desire amongst a growing number of wealthy industrialists for sport in the Scottish Highlands.

Between 1815 and 1847 the increase in farm rental was minimal,

reflecting the slow rate of agricultural development that was occasioned not only by a succession of poor harvests and variable market prices for cattle oats and barley but also by individual local factors that acted as stifling agents. The curatory of Col. Francis Grant during the illness of his brother the Earl of Seafield had made it difficult for a while to borrow money and estate investment in agriculture in Strathspey was anyway low on the list of spending priorities. The cautious and intractable nature of Captain John Grant of Congash, the Strathspey Estate factor from 1818 till 1849 was also a strong influence on the agricultural scene. The last of an old order of factors Grant of Congash had disapproved of almost every possible advancement from applying for a loan under the 1840 Drainage Act to the initiation of shooting leases to those outwith the laird's immediate circle of friends. With an unwillingness to commit estate funds he had made little attempt to encourage improvement as his predecessors had done.

By the 1850s Grant of Congash had gone, the insane Earl of Seafield had died and good markets for black cattle offered greater opportunities for improvement by tenant farmers on both large and small holdings. The opportunities were quickly recognised by Col. Francis Grant who had now succeeded his brother as Earl of Seafield and agricultural improvement alongside forestry and sport was once more actively promoted in Strathspey as it had been under Sir James Grant. The processes of organizational and technical change were seen through by Peter Brown, the agriculturalist and by George Mackay, the land surveyor who straightened farm boundaries, rationalised farm holdings and added exclusive pasture to individual farms from the common

grazings which were by 1869 almost completely divided largely as a result of the establishment of the Abernethy Deer Forest. The investment of capital by both the tenants and the Estate in drainage and enclosure resulted in a more extensive reclamation of land than had taken place in the 1760s and 1770s but on this occasion it was to be achieved by improving waste ground on the valley floor rather than by colonising marginal land.

The landscape of Strathspey had certainly been altered by Sir James Grant and his successors but the overall process of change had not taken place over night neither had it taken place in a steady and uniform fashion throughout the estate as a whole. The neatly enclosed fields and more prosperous steadings of the principal tenants still stand out in contrast to the smaller farm where tenant improvements were of a more gradual and more modest kind. Does this then fit in with the conception of a landscape entirely reshaped during the Agricultural Revolution ? Revolution has been defined by Adams(1978) as 'a period in which agrarian change took place at a rapid rate and on a large scale' but Whittington(1975) saw revolution as a process that necessarily involved the overturning of a previous system. In the context of the Highland estate the overall pattern of change is perhaps best viewed not as total evolution or revolution but as the summation of a number of evolutionary and revolutionary processes (Storrie, 1965).

In Strathspey the establishment of hill improvements and the village of Grantown in the 1760s, the laying down of allotments from the mid 1790s, the rapid development of afforestation and the establishment of a deer forest in 1869 can be seen as revolutionary

processes that brought about immediate changes in the landscape. Organizational changes that were equally revolutionary but less evident in the landscape include the redemption of wadsets in the 1770s, the reduction of tacks in the 1770s, 1790s and the early 1800s and the eventual division of common grazings in the 1850s and 1860s. Although spread over a century or more these changes were largely concentrated in three distinct periods of activity during the years 1760-1780, 1795-1815 and 1847-1870.

Here the revolutionary process was largely the result of estate planning whereas the evolutionary process tended to be the result of tenant farmers responding to the environmental and socio-economic realities of the time. The evolutionary and revolutionary processes did not always move in the same direction as, for example, in the case of Sir James Grant's hill improvement scheme which was designed to extend cultivation onto marginal land. The ideals of the planner were confronted by the real needs of the tenant farmer and a revolutionary process was gradually halted and put into reverse.

The evolutionary and revolutionary processes that changed the pattern of land use and rural settlement in Strathspey between 1750 and 1870 emphasize the importance of local factors in modifying the regional progress of rural change. That there was a good deal of variation from one estate to another in the timing and in the form of agrarian change is clear from the different processes and patterns described, for example, by Gailey(1963) in Argyll, Turnock(1967) in Lochaber and Gaskel(1968) in Morvern. The local factors that influence such variation in 18th and 19th century patterns of development can be summarised as follows:

1. Estate structure prior to 1750.
2. Environmental factors such as soil, climate and drainage network.
3. Range of potential resources that can be exploited.
4. Location with respect to markets.
5. Availability of (a) tenant capital for farm improvement and (b) land owner capital for the development of estate infrastructure and management.
6. Individual attitudes and actions of land owners.
7. Relationship between landlord and tenant.
8. Employment of skilled land surveyors and estate employees.

Future research is needed to extend our knowledge of inter and intra regional variations either by studying the pattern and process of land use and rural settlement change on individual estates like Strathspey or by adopting a thematic approach whereby the relationships between local variables such as those listed above and the reshaped landscape are explored. The material for such detailed work is available in estate records preserved in the Scottish Record Office or through the source lists recorded by the National Register of Archives but limited cataloguing of vast quantities of management correspondence as in the case of the Seafeld Estate Papers will often make the task a daunting one.

Today Strathspey is subject to the actions of a host of individuals and agencies both private and public, all with a special interest in developing a wide range of valued resources. Planning bodies such as the Local and Regional District Councils and the Countryside Commission for Scotland have a major task in reconciling

these differing interests in an attempt to prevent land use conflicts and over exploitation. In the 18th and 19th centuries the landowners of Strathspey were developer and planner all rolled into one - on the one hand keen to stimulate economic growth but on the other anxious to conserve the very resources on which the future prosperity of the local community depended. Their problems were no less difficult than those being faced today and the result of their decisions and actions has been to create a community with no bitter memories of Highland Clearance and a landscape that bears the durable imprint of human effort and design.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Notes and References.

Chapter 1.

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3. Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, 1883, I,24; III, 258.
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Addressed as 'Duncan le Graunte of Fruychy' in a precept of 31 August 1453. As Sir Duncan Grant he was retoured first on 25 February 1464-65 and finally on 7 February 1468-69 as heir in the Lands of Congash of his grandfather, Gilbert of Glencarnie, who is said to have died about 30 years before. John Grant his son was confirmed in these lands in the half barony of Freuchie, 4 January 1493-94.
5. Exchequer Rolls, VII, 367, 407, 523, 527. Glencarnie was let to Sir Duncan Grant from 1475 until his death in 1485. The lease was later converted to a feu holding in 1498.
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Curr, Clury and Tullochgorm were exchanged with the Earl of Huntly on 14 & 20 June 1491 for Fodderletter, Inverlochty and the 2 Inveruries in Strathavon.
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30. A. Wight, Present State of Husbandry in Scotland, 1780,

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32. GD 248/250/1 Tack to John Lawson and his son, 1759.
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34. GD 248/241 'Rentall of Strathspey for Rent Martinmas 1753.'
35. GD 248/1897 Strathspey Rental, 1763-64.
36. GD 248/248 Judicial Rental, 1759.
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39. Ibid., John Grant, Bellimore, to Sir Ludovick Grant, 8 May 1756.
40. Ibid., James Grant, clerk, to Sir Ludovick Grant, 10 June 1756.
41. Ibid., John Grant, Bellimore, to Sir Ludovick Grant, 27 June 1756.
42. Ibid., John Grant, Bellimore, to Sir Ludovick Grant, 17 June 1756.
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'Dachaple, Figal Grant, and I, are summoned before the Sherrif of Inverness by the tennents of Cragan, for turning out their cattle, out of Press ne Euien, and giving possession of it to Figal by virtue of your tack to him, The Day their cattle was turned out all the women of Cragan Conveened and mobed us, and threw stones at us upon which Dachaple held a court and fined them for the Ryot, and Confined so many of them in the tolbooth of Cromdell, and now they pursue us before the Sherrif for getting possession & for wrongeis Imprisonment, and has raised a very scurrelous Lyable against us.'
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Chapter 2.

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11. Ibid., Deskford to Grant, 12 March 1761. Amongst the notes collected by William Lorimer in 1763 there is the observation that 'Lord Deskford advises you to take Peter May or some such surveyor and with him go over your whole estate next summer - from thence get a general idea of it - and next year cause him begin a real and written survey of the whole.' (GD 248/38/1/27 p.127 'Things deserving...')
12. GD 248/178/2 Archibald Grant of Monymusk to James Grant of Grant, 6 May 1764.
13. Ibid.
14. GD 248/346/5 Lord Deskford to James Grant of Grant, 6 May 1764.
15. In a letter to William Forbes, Robinson intimated that he would arrive at Castle Grant at the beginning of November 1763 (GD 248/250/1), but it was only on 10 May 1764 that he could write to James Grant to say that he had 'at last

- arrived' (GD 248/178/2). In August 1764 Robinson again wrote to James Grant of Grant to apologise for the survey going on longer than intended (GD 248/178/2). Grant of Grant asked for Robinson's account to be sent to him on 1 December but this does not seem to have been paid by 20 April when Lachlan Grant in Edinburgh received a demand for payment from William Tennoch.(GD 248/2082 and GD 248/178/2)
16. On 10 May 1764 Robinson was to comment that he 'should have been very happy in your presence here, it being always satisfactory to advise with the proprietor...'(GD 248/178/2) By 10 July he was to write again to James Grant of Grant to say that he had 'met with no particular instructions'. (GD 248/259/1)
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 29. GD 248/672/4 Lord Findlater to James Grant of Grant, 2 October 1766.
 30. GD 248/1542 Journal of James Grant, clerk, 25 April 1767.

31. GD 248/371/1 'Instructions to Peter May for a survey of the Estates of James Grant, younger of Grant.'
32. GD 248/449/3 'Proposals about carrying on a survey of Mr. Grant's Estate by Peter May, land surveyor.' April 1767.
33. GD 248/200 Rough field sketches, most of which are dated, give some indication as to progress of the ground survey between 1767 and 1770.
34. GD 248/300/5 Peter May to Alexander Taylor, 5 August 1767.
35. GD 248/539/1 'Accompt Mr. Grant of Grant to Peter May for surveying,' 11 December 1767.
36. GD 248/345/5 Peter May to James Grant of Grant, 23 December 1767.
37. GD 248/371/7 Alex. Taylor to James Grant of Grant, 5 February 1768.
38. GD 248/533
39. GD 248/524/1 Peter May to James Grant of Heathfield the clerk, 15 June 1768.
40. GD 248/350/5 Alex. Taylor to Peter May, 9 April 1768.
41. RHP 13911
42. RHP 13988
43. GD 248/49/4 Ludovick Grant to James Grant of Grant, 21 December 1768.
44. Adams, 1975b, op.cit.
45. GD 248/677/13 James Grant of Grant to Alex. Taylor, 26 January 1770.
46. GD 248/524/1 George Taylor to James Grant of Grant, 27 April 1771.
47. Gordon Castle Papers GD 44/39/18a,pl, SRO.
48. RHP 4153 & RHP 4154
49. GD 248/445
50. GD 44/52/37 On 27 July 1771 James Ross, the Duke of Gordon's factor, wrote to John Grant of Tullochgriban, the Strathspey factor, to recommend that Taylor and Milne should cooperate with each other on a joint survey: 'I have just now received a letter from Muirfold, wherein he expresses a

great desire to have a joint survey of all the contraverted marches on the south side of Spey - For which reason I hope you will think it proper to order Mr. Grant's Surveyor, to meet Mr. Milne, a surveyor of the Duke's presently in Strathaven, and to traverse the whole contraverted bounds with him, that Mr. Milne may have an opportunity of proving his plan, and marking anything further that may appear necessary...' (GD 248/462/3)

51. RHP 1857
52. RHP 2003
53. RHP 8945
54. RHP 9019
55. RHP 9020 & RHP 9021
56. RHP 3964
57. GD 248/677/1
58. GD 248/201/2 8 December 1772; 17 December 1772; 5 January 1773.
59. GD 248/462/4 Alex. Taylor to Sir James Grant, 13 August 1774.
60. GD 248/201/2
61. GD 248/524/1 Peter May to James Grant of Grant, 12 March 1771.
62. GD 248/1899 Rental of Strathspey 1770 £2,075
GD 248/2897 " " 1795 £5,533
63. GD 248/1748 Sir James Grant to George Brown, 3 April 1795.
64. Lord Reay's Papers GD 84/2/39 Lord Reay to George Brown, 16 May 1797.
65. GD 248/3442/11 Memo. of George Brown's visit drawn up by Sir James Grant, 1796.
66. GD 248/456/4 Sir James Grant to James Grant, factor, 29 January 1801.
67. GD 248/1546 Sir James Grant to James Grant, 25 March 1801.
68. Ibid.
69. GD 248/351/4 George Brown to James Grant, 16 august 1801.
70. RHP 13952; RHP 13951; RHP 13914

71. GD 248/965/5 George Brown to John Fraser, factor of Strathspey, 29 May 1812 reporting the death of Sandy Warren; J. Fraser replies to George Brown, 2 June 1812.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., George Brown to John Fraser, 4 June 1812.
74. GD 248/367/3 George Brown to James Grant of Heathfield, 8 February 1805.
75. GD 248/1550 Sir James Grant to Provost George Brown, 2 September 1807.
76. GD 248/452/5 George Brown to James Grant of Heathfield, 2 May 1809.
77. GD 248/1552 p.113 Sir James Grant to Thomas Sellar, 24 March 1810.
78. GD 248/1172 pp. 87, 271, 273.
79. GD 44/51/378 George Brown to the Duke of Gordon, 30 January 1809.
80. GD 248/965/5 George Brown to Col. F.W.Grant, 21 March 1811.
81. GD 248/1172 pp. 268-71; GD 248/1554 p. 297.
82. GD 248/449/3 'Proposals about carrying on a survey...' op.cit.
83. GD 248/200
84. GD 248/251/1 Agreement with George Taylor for one year from 23 June 1770.
85. GD 248/300/5 Peter May to Alex. Taylor, 5 August 1767.
86. George Adams, Geometrical and Graphical Essays, 4th Edn., 1813, 302.
87. T.Baker and F.E.Dixon, Land and Engineering Surveying, 23rd Edn., 1919, 14.
88. GD 248/449/3 'Proposals about carrying on a survey...' op.cit.
89. RHP 8888; RHP 8883;
90. James Robertson, General View of the Agriculture in the County of Inverness, 1808, 13.
91. GD 248/508/2 'Sandy Taylor's planes opinion and valuation

of the lands of Tullochgriban.' 1771.

92. GD 248/52/3/129 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 9 July 1776.
93. GD 248/707/4 George Brown to John Fraser, 3 December 1806 in reply to Fraser's letter of 2 december pointing out the 'importance of knowing the extent of common moors.' (GD 248/1550 p.137)
94. GD 248/371/1 Instructions to Peter May op.cit.
95. GD 248/496/4 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 24 January 1778.
96. GD 248/34/4 Contents and estimates of the lands of Tullochgorm, 1777.
97. GD 248/3422/1 George Brown to Sir James Grant, 6 November 1796.
98. GD 248/1553 p.95 Sir James Grant to George Brown, 10 April 1813.

Chapter 3.

1. Abstracted from the Valuation Rolls of Inverness and Moray, 1855.
VR 103/1, VR 109/1
2. GD 248/248 Judicial Rental, 1759.
3. GD 248/127 'Clury - a proof taken in an action at instance of the younger children of late George Grant of Clury against James Grant of Clury, their elder brother.' Nov.1761.
4. GD 248/1890 'Rentall of Burnside's Subsetts...' 1784.
5. GD 248/456/6 List of Lettoch's subtenants.
6. GD248/497 Note book of Rev. Patrick Grant, c. 1755.
James Grant of Grant asked William Forbes, the grieve, in 1765 to secretly make a list of subtenants, GD 248/345/3.
7. GD 248/248 Judicial rental, 1759.
8. RHP 8921
9. GD 248/1903 Rental of Strathspey, Crop 1773 mentions Cottartown Meadows at Culnakyle, Cottartown of Castle Grant and Cottartown of Lethendy.
10. Census of Great Britain, 1851, London, 1852, VI population tables, 1801-1851.
11. GD 248/38/1/27 p.94, 'Things deserving...'
12. Adams, Agrarian Landscape Terms, 1976, 23.
13. GD 248/38/1/27 p.91 'Things deserving...'
14. GD 248/151 'Contract of Wadset 1729 to James Grant of Dell for Rynettin, Rinuie, Achdergannach.'
15. Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, 1883, I, xcii.
16. GD 248/38/1/27 p.93
'The Wedsetters originally should have had only the Interest of their money paid out of the Rents of the Wedsett Lands - but in time the value of Lands increasing, they agreed to pay to the Laird a Superplus or Augmentation Rent that is, so much more than the Interest of their money - which superplus rent was increased on every prorogation - & many of them pay such rents at present.'
17. GD 248/151 Wadset Rentals: Delrachny
18. GD 248/150 Wadsets in Strathspey, 13 June 1719.

19. GD 248/38/1/27 p.94 'Things deserving...'
20. Ibid., p.95.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. GD 248/150
24. GD 248/150
25. Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, 1883, I, xcii.
26. GD 248/672/5/9 William Lorimer to James Grant, n.d.
27. GD 248/252 'Copy letter for Baron Grant 1770 as to redeeming Wadsetts.'
28. R.Forsyth, The Beauties of Scotland, London, 1806, 4, 488. He also noted 'In 1768 the Earl of Fife began to lease land to substantial and intelligent farmers where it had formerly been occupied by 4 or 5 tenants.'
29. GD 248/53/2 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 26 September 1776.
30. GD 248/226/1 James Grant of Grant to Lachlan Grant of Gartinbeg, 28 September 1770.
31. V.Gaffney, Summer Shielings and Rural Settlement in the Braes of Abernethy, unpublished manuscript, n.d.
32. GD 248/241 'Rentall of Strathspey for Rent Mart. 1753'
33. GD 248/1897
34. The Aberdeen Journal, Monday 18 April 1763, Number 797, p.4, col.2.
35. GD 248/536/3 'A note of new Improvers...' 1767-68.
36. GD 248/449 'Tack Sir Ludovick Grant to Thomas Grant in Shendale 1755'.
37. GD 248/250/1 30 December 1765.
38. GD 248/38/1/27 p.41 'Observations on Tacks and Leases.'
39. Ibid., p.15 'Improvements'
40. GD 248/1904 Copy Rental of Strathspey, crop 1778.
41. GD 248/448/2 'The petition of William Grant, Lynmacgilbert.'

42. GD 248/432 'Petition of John Grant in Correchullie.'
43. GD 248/452/1 'Petition of Alex. Cameron, Delbog, 8 February 1796.'
44. GD 248/432 'Petition of Lewis Lawson on Miltown et al.'
45. GD 248/432/1 'Petition of Robert Geddes in Achnahannet against Lewis Lawson in Lyngarrow.'
46. GD 248/63/1 'Memorandum from Philip Grant for Sir James Grant re Kirktown, 20 June 1789.'
47. GD 248/525/4 'Petition of Lewis Grant to Sir James Grant, 1778.'
48. GD 248/55/4/16 James Grant, Lettoch, to Sir James Grant, 28 September 1778.
49. GD 248/52/3/26 Capt. Ludovick Grant, Culnakyle, to Sir James Grant, 19 April 1776.
50. GD 248/228/2 William Stuart to Sir James Grant, 21 May 1781.
51. GD 248/432/1
52. GD 248/1541 Sir James Grant to James Grant, clerk, 4 May 1782.
53. GD 248/53/5 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 14 October 1776.
54. GD 248/455/3 'Petition of the tenants of Slochd, 17 June 1800';
Sir James Grant to James Grant, clerk, 20 June 1800.
55. GD 248/457/2 8 May 1809.
56. GD 248/455/5 John Geddes to James Grant, 4 August 1806.
57. OSA, Cromdale Parish, 1793, 8, xii, 251-260.
58. H.Woolmer, 'Grantown-on-Spey: an eighteenth century new town', July 1970, Town Planning Review, 41, 3, 238.
59. Ibid.
60. OSA, Duthil Parish, 1792, 4, xlii, 308-317.
61. OSA, Abernethy Parish, 1794, 13, xi, 129.
62. GD 248/351/2 John Grant of Tullochgriban to James Grant of Grant, 13 November, 1770.

63. GD 248/448/4 John Grant of Tullochgriban to James Grant, clerk, 15 December 1773.
64. GD 248/52/1 Colquhoun Grant to Sir James Grant, 2 October 1775.
65. GD 248/57/1 Ludovick Grant to Sir James Grant, 10 September 1779.
66. GD 248/58/2 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 26 October 1780.
67. GD 248/59/1 Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus to Sir James Grant, 15 April 1782.
68. GD 248/1541 Sir James Grant to Thomas Mackie, grocer, London, 11 November 1782.
69. OSA, Duthil, 1792.
70. GD 248/462/2/56 'Petition of tenants in Muckrach and Finlarig', March 1783.
71. GD 248/229/4 October 1784. Good prices for cattle in that month but poor prices for potatoes and meal.
72. GD 248/448/3 'The Petition of Gregor McGregor in Rynabealich', June 1788.
73. GD 248/1541 Sir James Grant to James Macgregor, 8 February 1783.
74. GD 248/508/1 James Grant of Grant to James Grant of Tullochgriban, 25 December 1770.
75. GD 248/508/3 James Grant of Grant to John Grant of Tullochgriban, 1 June 1773.
76. GD 248/540 Sir James Grant to Tullochgriban, 3 March 1774.
77. GD 248/348/4 Tullochgriban to James Grant, clerk, 30 March 1772.
78. Ibid.
79. GD 248/496/4 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 24 April 1783.
80. GD 248/52/3/129 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 9 July 1776.
81. GD 248/57/1 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, Oct 1779.
82. GD 248/59/1 Colquhoun Grant to William Grant, Burnside, 12

April 1782.

83. GD 248/2083 Sir James Grant to Tullochgriban, 13 March 1780.
84. GD 248/2083 Sir James Grant to Lt. John Grant, Ballintomb, 31 January 1786.
85. GD 248/2083 Sir James Grant to William Grant, 27 June 1786.
86. OSA, Duthil, 1792.
87. Macpherson-Grant of Ballindalloch Papers, 413. Robert Grant to Col. James Grant of Ballindalloch, 6 April 1768.
88. Ibid., 296, 1 August 1770.
89. A.Geddes, 'The Foundation of Grantown-on-Spey, 1765', 1945, SGM, 61, 19-22.
90. Woolmer, 'Grantown-on-Spey', 1970, 237-49.
91. GD 248/178/2
92. OSA, Abernethy, 1794.
93. RHP 13911
94. RHP 13928
95. OSA, Cromdale, 1793.
96. GD 248/30/3 'Account of the population of the parts of the Parishes of Cromdale and Inverallen, of Abernethy in Strathspey that lie within the county of Inverness as taken by William Grant in Grantown, in August, Sept. 1801.'
97. NSA, Cromdale, 1841, 14, 432-443.
98. Quoted in Woolmer, 'Grantown-on-Spey', 1970, 243.
99. Ibid., 245.
100. GD 248/449/2
101. Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, 1883, I, 447.
102. Observation of Duncan Grant on introducing industry into the Highlands.
103. GD 248/38/1/11 'Hints about Woods, Tacks Chamberlains to be lookt into, William Lorimer, 1763.'
104. GD 248/806 List of Cottars to be put in rental, 1802.

105. GD 248/1890 'Rentall of Burnside's Subsetts...', 1784.
106. GD 248/290
107. GD 248/2897
108. GD 248/248 Judicial Rental, 1759.
109. Ibid.
110. Robertson, Agriculture of Inverness, 1808, lvii.
111. Somers, Letters from the Highlands, 1977, 38.
112. RHP 8889
113. RHP 13987
114. GD 248/819 John Grant of Congash to John Fraser, 23 April 1839.
115. GD 248/3363 'Report upon the Farms and Possessions in Strathspey by George G. Mackay' 1867.
116. GD 248/672/2/9 Robert Lawson, factor, to Sir James Grant, 1 March 1809.
117. GD 248/452/5 Sir James Grant to James Grant, factor, 4 April 1808.
118. GD 248/1713/6 George Brown to Sir James Grant, 5 November 1810.
119. GD 248/709/1 George Brown to Sir James Grant, 8 November 1807.
120. GD 248/713/8/7 'Petition of Charles Stuart, Bruntlands of Cromdale', 18 April 1806.
121. GD 248/1550 p.348 Sir James Grant to George Brown, James Grant of Corrimony and Mr. Beaton, factor of Urquhart.
122. GD 248/45/1 'As to Kylintra & Land thereof', c.1765. The arable lands and land below Kylintra were 'to be divided into different Lots, each from 6 to 8 acres, all to be laid down properly & have communication from the publick road...and to be set from two to four shillings the acre as the same shall be valued agreeable to the different qualities of the Ground and those who take it to dung or lyme properly what is labour'd - The 1st cropt Bear or oats, 2nd cropt pease, beans or turnip & the 3rd bear sown down with grass & to continue under grass four years at least if not five and then to be taken into cropts above.'
123. GD 248/238

- 124. GD 248/453/2 Sir James Grant to James Grant, 18 May 1796.
- 125. GD 248/1543 Sir James Grant to James Grant, 16 May 1798.
- 126. GD 248/514/2 Alex. Cumming, Docharn to James Grant, factor,
17 August 1807.

Chapter 4.

1. GD 248/38/1/27, p.38 'Things deserving Mr. Grant's Attention...' William Lorimer, 1763.

'A Davoch is an undetermin'd quantity of land.

It is divided into what they call Aughten-parts, which certainly means eight-parts, as there are generally 8 aughtenparts in each Davoch, tho' in some Davochs there are 10 and in some 12.'

2. RHP 13935
3. GD 248/2897 Abstract Rental 1795.
4. GD 248/1901
5. GD 248/88/6 Disposition of Clury to George Grant of Leastown in 1783.
6. GD 248/38/1/27 op.cit.
7. GD 248/44/4 'Petition of Gregor Gregorach in Rienbealich to Sir James Grant.'
8. GD 248/53/5 Petition of Patrick Grant, 15 April 1776.
9. GD 248/533 'Tack - Tullochgriban to the tennents of Tullochgriban,' 9 March 1759.

'And the said Tacksman Binds and obliges them and their foresaids to free and relieve the said John Grant of Tullochgriban of ministers stipends, schoolmasters salary - augmentations of both, reparations and building of kirk manse and schoolhouse, and to doe the ordinary duty yearly to the miln of muckerach. As also they bind and oblige them and their foresaids to free and relieve the aid John Grant of Tullochgriban not only of the carriages and services due out of the saids lands possessed by them to Sir Ludovick but to perform yearly to the said John Grant the services after mentioned to be payed out of each aughten part of the said lands and proportionally as they possess viz. each aughten part to pay two spade men and two barrow men, two horses out of each aughten part with carts during the leading of the peats, four sufficient shearers in harvest, two horses for harrowing and four for mucking....'

10. GD 248/444 'Tack twixt Thomas Gordon (Dellachaple) and Thomas Stewart, Jan. 1790, Belnafettack, Tominourd, Corryshealach and Druminacoynack.'
11. GD 248/221/1 'Coppy letter of tack granted by Janet and James Grants to Willm. Stewart in Mains of Allachie.'

12. GD 248/1904 Copy Rental of Strathspey, Crop 1778.
13. GD 248/38/1/20
14. GD 248/533 Note of Coals in lie of Custom Rents, 1788.
15. GD 248/44/6 Peats and Shearers, 1772.
16. GD 248/248 Judicial Rental of Strathspey, 1759-60.
17. GD 248/456/2 William Forbes to James Grant, 28 March 1796.
18. GD 248/248 Judicial Rental, 1759-60.
19. GD 248/351/1 Duncan McDonald to James Grant, Clerk, 1 September 1773.
20. GD 248/38/1/20
21. GD 248/348/4 Tullochgriban to James Grant, Clerk, 28 May 1769.
22. GD 248/44/6 Peat and Shearers, 1772.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 'At present there is payable by tennents near to
 Castle Grant: 29 leats
 There is payable by tennents at a great distance: 4
 Leats 33
25. GD 248/1906
26. GD 248/248 Abstract Rental of Abernethy Collection Crop and Year 1819.
27. Lord Kames, The Gentleman Farmer, 1776.
 Robert Maxwell, The Practical Husbandman, 1757.
28. See The Gordon's Mill Farming Club, 1758-1764, 1962, Edinburgh.
29. GD 248/232 p.5 Receipt Book, 9 June 1766.
30. GD 248/537/4/19 Papers respecting the Grantown Farmers Club, 27 April 1787.
31. GD 248/246 'Letter to Sir James Grant from Jas. Donaldson, President of Banffshire Farming society 9 September 1789 enclosing regulations of the Society, 1788.'
32. Rev. James McLean, 'A Dissertation Relative to the Agriculture of Badenoch and Strathspey, in General View of the Agriculture of the County of Inverness, 1808, Appendix III, 401-02.

33. GD 248/57/1 William Forbes to Sir James Grant of Grant, 28 September 1779.
34. GD 248/56/2 William Forbes to Sir James Grant, 25 May 1779.
35. GD 248/37/4/4 William Lorimer - Notes, 1762.
36. GD 248/25/3 Tack of Rothymoon to James and Alex. Grant in 1775 required 'that onr fourth part of the arable lands hereby set shall not be broke up or laboured during the last 2 years of this lease.'
37. GD 248/826 List of Limekilns in Abernethy, 30 August 1815. There were other small limestone quarries at Achnagonalin, Rea McFarquhar, Ball a Chruichk, Sliabhclachd and Rynelrick.
38. GD 248/510/3 'The number of Cattle at Castle Grant,' 22 November 1782.
39. GD 248/58/3 James Macgregor and William Forbes to Sir James Grant, 24 November 1788.
40. GD 248/58/3 William Forbes to Sir James Grant, 13 November 1780.
41. GD 248/448/3 Note to Sir James Grant from William Forbes, n.d.
42. GD 248/510/1 William Forbes to Sir James Grant 8 July 1786.
43. GD 248/57/3 William Forbes to Sir James Grant, 24 January 1780.
44. GD 248/448/3 Note to Sir James Grant from William Forbes, n.d.
45. GD 248/2082, p.151.
46. RHP 8906
47. RHP8964
48. GD 248/1549 Sir James Grant to James Grant, factor, 4 January 1805.
49. GD 248/1345 General Accounts Crop 1863, £52 10s. 3d. paid for wire fencing at Dorback Lodge.
50. RHP 3964/1 p.13 Plans of the Lands and Lordship of Abernethy belonging to James Grant of Grant, 1772.
51. Grid Reference NJ 060248.
52. GD 248/499 'Tack twixt James Grant Esq. and John Grant

Clury, 1769, Improvement of Kichannahiller.'

53. GD 248/444 Tack James Grant of Grant to William Grant Dellechapple, 27 September 1770.
54. GD 248/452/1 Petition of Alexander Cameron in Delbog, 8 February 1796.
55. GD 248/713/8 Petition of David Cameron Tacksman of Galevie, 27 June 1806.
56. GD 248/483/1 Petition of Charles Grant in Wester Lettoch, 24 February 1790.
57. GD 248/504 Ludovick Grant in Coulmakyle to James Grant, clerk, 1 February 1773.
58. GD 248/44/4 Petition of James Grant in Knockankeist, 1772.
59. GD 248/537/3 Factory Accounts Crop 1789.
60. GD 248/1034 'Registered Articles and Conditions of New Sett of the Estate of Grant,' 31 October 1807; Registered 3 November 1807.
61. OSA, Nairn, XII, 381-93.
62. OSA, Duffus, VIII, 384-400.
63. GD 248/348/4 Tullochgriban to James Grant, clerk, 22 October 1771.
64. GD 248/56/4 James Macgregor to Sir James Grant, 28 July 1779.
William Lorimer in the 1760s had noted 'The water of nethy broke its banks, some years ago. It should be lookt at, the tenants of rothymoon and thereabouts complain of great danger done by it. The water of Dulnain ought to be made deeper and wider. A few shrubs or boughs properly used would prevent the overflowing of Nethy.' GD 248/38/1/27 p.9.
65. GD 248/536/3 Contents and estimate of the Davoch lands of Clury and the Aughten part land of Milntown of Muckerach, c.1776.
66. GD 248/178/3 Ludovick Grant, Culvuline, to James Grant of Grant, 5 June 1769.
67. RHP 8893 Plan of Coulmakyle and Rothiemonn, Culvoulin, Balnagowhan shewing proposed alteration of the River Nethy 1770, Peter May.
68. GD 248/698/6 James Grant, factor to Sir James Grant, 10 October 1799.
The River Nethy continued to cause problems and in 1852 the

residents of the village requested bulwarks above the stone bridge to divert the water from the east to the west side of the channel so that it would flow under the main arch of the bridge. GD 248/328 Memorial from the Inhabitants of Nethy Bridge wishing the Nethy embanked, 2 July 1852.

69. RHP 13913

70. GD 248/712/1 Lewis sinclair to sir James Grant, 19 September 1809.

'The new cut for the burn which leads into the bridge now a building on the Aultneick is finished and looks very well. The cut that was pointed out on the burn to carry down the large wood to Spey are all finished and will answer very well...'

Considerable damage was done to embankments from time to time by the floating of logs. Thomas Low, for example complained to the factor in July 1857 that his embankments had been damaged: 'They not only injure the banks very much by rolling heavy wood and driving stakes etc. into them but they also destroy the grass which grows upon them which is of considerable value to me...' GD 248/327

71. GD 248/221/5 John Williams, Waterford, to Sir James Grant, 20 November 1770.

William Lorimer had earlier suggested 'I hope you'll be able to accomplish the turning of the course of the Spey at Belliefurth.' GD 248/38/1/27 p.9.

72. RHP 8964 Plan of River Spey at Balliefurth, c.1790, William Forbes.

RHP 8960 E. Meadows of Coulmakyle overflowed by R.Spey, n.d., William Forbes.

73. GD 248/1348 Strathspey Factory Accounts Crop 1865, p.87.

74. There were some who objected to the building of Bulwarks since they diverted the water onto their land. Margaret McGregor in Lower Dell claimed that 'when there is a spate the Bullwark forces in the water to overflow that haugh in to the fitt of the stance of our house...' GD 248/453/5 Margaret McGregor to James Grant, 20 december 1800.

75. GD 248/366/4 Agreement for ditching Big Meadow, 27 July 1798.

Account due to Wm. Grant for ditching in the Big Meadow of Culnakyle.

76. RHP 8977 Plan of the draining of Coulchastle including sectional plan of covered drain, 1802.

RHP 8978 Plan of draining of the Moss pf Polochar, 1802.

77. GD 248/38/1/27 'Things deserving...' p.122 'From Lord Findlater and Lord Deskford.
78. GD 248/37/4/3 p.13 William Lorimer, 1762.
79. GD 248/38/1/27 'Things deserving...' p.121.
80. Ibid., p.119.
81. Ibid., p.122.
82. GD 248/57/4 James Grant, clerk to Sir James Grant, 23 May 1780.
83. GD 248/57/4 William Forbes to Sir James Grant, 14 May 1780.
84. GD 248/31/2 Auchernack Writs, Delnabo Decreet, 1697.
85. GD 248/150 Contract of Wadset, the Laird of Grant and Robert Grant, Gorton, 1 March 1727.
86. GD 248/250/1 'Hints as to tacks etc. in Strathspey,' William Lorimer, 30 December 1765.
87. GD 248/367/3 James Grant, Delrachie to James Grant, factor, 4 October 1803
88. RHP 13932
89. GD 248/151
90. V. Gaffney, The Lordship of Strathavon, 1960, 1-34.
91. GD 248/445 No.2 of Proof, 19 September 1766.
RHP8894
RHP1857
RHP2003
92. GD 248/445 p.9-10.
93. Ibid., p.21.
94. GD 248/201 Petition of Alex. Grant, Tacksman of W.Duthil to Robert Grant of Dellechaple, Baron Baillie, n.d.
95. GD 248/445 p.25.
96. GD 248/490 'Petition of the several tenants in the Davoch of Gartermore,' 7 July 1837.
97. GD 248/445 p.43.
98. GD 248/363/3 op. cit.
99. GD 248/445 p.18.

100. Ibid., p.94.
101. Statute 1686 c.11
102. GD 248/356/2 Alex. Cumming, Grantown, 1 June 1779.
103. GD 248/44/4 Petition of James Grant of Clury, 9 March 1771.
104. GD 248/38/1
105. GD 248/713/8/20 James Grant, Glenlochy to Sir James Grant,
3 September 1807.
106. GD 248/368/4 Petition of James Grant, 2 April 1798
Agreed by Sir James Grant, 25 June 1798.
107. John Kay, A Series of Original Portraits & Caricature
Etchings, Edinburgh, 1842, 277
108. GD 248/415/4 Sir James Grant to James Grant, 16 March 1797.
109. GD 248/455/2 Sir James Grant to James Grant, 13 May 1807.

Chapter 5.

1. GD 248/3422/1
2. Cassillis, The Rulers of Strathspey, 1911, 158.
3. Ibid., 164.
4. GD 248/845 'Memorandum as to contents & rental of Strathspey Estate,' 21 February 1848.
5. NSA, Cromdale Parish, 1841, 14, 432-43.
6. GD 248/1629 Strathspey Factory Accounts, 1815-45.
In the Estate Memorandum Book, 1849-51 (GD 248/1726) it was noted that 'Allowances for bringing into cultivation new land by the regulations of the estate the tenants are entitled to an allowance of £5 per acre for the improvement of waste land payable at the termination of their respective leases.'
7. Drainage Act 3 & 4 Vic., cap.55.
8. GD 248/1565 Cashier to Capt. Grant of Congash, 19 November 1831.
9. GD 248/3402/4
10. GD 248/1582,205-06 Cashier to John Grant, Factor, 12 February 1847.
11. GD 248/821 John Grant of Congash to John Fraser, 15 February 1847.
12. Somers, Letters from the Highlands, 1977, 36.
13. GD 248/806 'Petition of the farmers of Delnabo', 15 August 1834 and 23 December 1834.
14. GD 248/846 Application by Mr. Christie of Balliemore for a loan at 5% on £60-80 for building a threshing mill, 19 June 1837.
15. Somers, Letters from the Highlands, 1977, 36.
16. GD 248/821 'Petition of James Cameron in Croftnahaven,' September 1847.
17. GD 248/1556, 117 Cashier to John Grant of Congash, 28 May 1817.
18. GD 248/846 J. Gordon to Capt. Grant of Congash, 29 August

1837.

19. GD 248/846 John Grant of Congash to John Fraser, 7 October 1837.
20. GD 248/446/1 W.G.Bryson, 1 December 1874.
21. GD 248/1582, 400-01 Cashier to John Grant of Congash, 15 July 1847.
22. GD 248/1583, 71 Cashier to John Grant of Congash, 29 March 1848. Writing to say that Lord Seafield had declined renewing the leases of the Aviemore tenants who he hoped would be 'gradually accommodated elsewhere' and that 'In fact it was the appearance of these small holdings that first induced the Earl to send Mr. Brown to Strathspey...'
23. GD 248/1577, 247 Cashier to John Grant of Congash, 29 April 1842.
24. GD 248/821 Peter Brown to Lord Seafield, 18 September 1847.
25. GD 248/821 'Petition of Peter Ferguson at Balnacruie,' 1847.
26. GD 248/821 'Petition of John Grant in Aughtuneoir,' 1847.
27. GD 248/821 Peter Brown to Lord Seafield, 18 September 1847.
28. GD 248/826 John Grant of Congash to Alexander Fraser, 30 May 1849.
29. GD 248/821 'Petition of James Russell, Dellifure,' 1847.
30. GD 248/821 Peter Brown to John Fraser, 2 October 1847.
31. GD 248/821 'Petition of the cottars and labourers in the Barony of Cromdale,' 27 September 1847.
32. GD 248/485 Petition of David and Lewis McDonald to W.G.Bryson, 14 December 1849.
33. GD 248/489 'Petition of Alexander Calder, E.Crannich,' 17 December 1849.
34. GD 248/821 Peter Brown to Lord Seafield, 18 September 1847.
35. GD 248/37/1 'Proceedings of the Baron Court of Strathspey,' 2 July 1764. As early as 1764 tenants were fined for taking in 'gall' cattle: 'James Grant and William Douglas subtenants to Tullochgorum in hill possessions each of them fyned in ten shillings Sterl. for keeping of other cattle on the pasture than their own.'

This was also included in the 1807 regulations under rule no. 14.

36. GD 248/1586, 66 Letter to Col. Dixon, Factor of Strathspey, 16 October 1855.
37. GD 248/489 Peter Brown, 16 April 1851.
38. RHP 14955 Urquhart & Glenmoriston, 1849.
RHP 2208 Millburn, Inverness, 1850
RHP 3095 Mains of Culloden, 1851.
RHP 24004 Kyllachy, 1851.
RHP 530 Millburn, 1855.
RHP 6286 Kilmonaivag, 1855.
RHP 23994 Guisachan, 1856.
RHP 23999 Braefield, 1857.
39. GD 248/1339, 1342-1352 General Account Books, 1856, 1859-69.
40. GD 248/1337-1348 General Account Books, 1854-65.
41. GD 248/3363 'Reports upon the Farms and Possessions in Strathspey by George G.Mackay,' 1867.
42. GD 248/367/3 James Grant, Glenloch to James Grant, factor, 4 October 1803.
43. GD 248/456/3 James Grant, Glenloch to James Grant, factor, 21 May 1805.
44. GD 248/327 J.Allan, Tomdow to Col. Dixon, 5 December 1856.
45. GD 248/489 Mr.T.Bass to W.G.Bryson, 20 August 1850.
A provision (rule no.7) had been made in the 1807 regulations to allow for the division of common grazings or the souming and rouming of common grazings in order to prevent overstocking.
46. GD 248/328 John McPherson, Crask to W.G.Bryson, 1 July 1852.
47. GD 248/328 John Grant, Attinlia to W.G.Bryson, 10 December 1853.
48. GD 248/806 'Petition of the tennants of Deishar and Drummullie,' July 1813.
49. GD 248/330 John Fraser, Auchernack to J.Smith, 2 January 1869.
50. GD 248/330 J.Smith to John Fraser, Auchernack, 28 January 1869.
51. GD 248/330 John Fraser, Auchernack to J. Smith, 8 November

1870.

52. Inverness Courier, 16 April 1842, quoted in Barron (1913).
53. GD 248/3392/2/2 John Smith to the Earl of Seafield, 14 January 1871. Enclosing report of farm reorganisation on the south side of the Spey.
54. GD 248/848 John Grant of Congash to John Fraser, 19 October 1848.
55. GD 248/3363 'Report upon Farms...' 1867.
56. GD 248/1553, 116 29 April 1813.
57. Inverness Courier, 12 April 1818, quoted in Barron (1913).
58. GD 248/1555, 595 John Fraser to John Grant of Congash, 12 December 1822.
59. GD 248/826 John Grant of Congash to John Fraser, 7 August 1829.
60. GD 248/1572, 231-32 Cashier to John Grant of Congash, 18 October 1836.
61. GD 248/1582, 191 Cashier to John Grant of Congash, 1 February 1847.
62. GD 248/1582, 195 Cashier to John Grant of Congash, 6 February 1847.
63. GD 248/490 'Petition of the Farmers residing in that District of the Parish of Cromdale situated on the north side of the River Spey,' December 1850.
64. GD 248/328 Emigration Circular, Colonial Lands and Emigration Office, 10 May 1852.
65. GD 248/3392/2/2 John Smith to the Earl of Seafield, 14 January 1871.
66. GD 248/828 Alexander Cumming to W.G.Bryson, 5 October 1852.

Chapter 6.

1. GD 248/345/1 Capt. John Mason, Westminster to Laird of Grant, 30 June 1635,
2. D. Nairne, Notes on Highland Woods, Ancient and Modern, Inverness, 1891, 170-221.
3. OSA, Abernethy, 13, XI, 1794.
4. GD 248/23/4
5. GD 248/25/1
6. GD 248/49/3/25
7. GD 248/49/4 Ludovick Grant to James Grant of Grant, 22 November 1769.
8. GD 248/377
9. GD 248/377 Alexander Cumming to James Grant of Grant, 13 July 1772.
10. GD 248/50/3 Alexander Grant, Delechaple to James Grant Esq., 25 August 1772.
11. GD 248/229/1 'Scroll contract twixt Sir James Grant, Bart. and Lieut. James Macgregor,' 1778
12. GD 248/527/4/2 'Plan by John Grant, Vintner at Aviemore how & where 11 or 1200 trees of the woods of Glenchernich might be sold off yearly,' April 1778.
13. GD 248/714/1 Memorial & Queries for Colonel Francis Wm. Grant.
14. GD 248/713/2 Alexander Cumming to John Fraser, 3 May 1810.
15. GD 248/420 Inventory of Fir timber from Duthil at Inverness from 27th August 1826 to 26th August 1827 inclusive.
16. GD 248/419 Sale by private tender of lots of wood in Abernethy district, 12 January 1872.
17. GD 18/2110 Penicuik Papers 'A trip to the north of Scotland as far as Inverness in May 1739.' John Clerk.
18. GD 248/3392/2/13 Report on Strathspey Woods & Plantations by W.G.Bryson, 1851.
19. GD 248/657
20. GD 248/38/1

21. GD 248/38/1(1)
22. GD 248/38/1(20)
23. GD 248/672/5
24. GD 248/1542 'Note of agreement betwixt James Grant of Grant Esq. and James Grant Inveraury his Overseer of the Woods of Strathspey.'
25. GD 248/25/1/14 'To William Grant in Rynaittin in the Parish of Abernethy,' 26 August 1763.
26. GD 248/255 A note of birchwood to be sold in different lots, 1779.
27. GD 248/821 P.Brown to Lord Seafield, 18 September 1847.
28. GD 248/3392/2/13 Report on Strathspey Woods, 1851.
29. GD 248/173/2
30. GD 248/251/1/13
31. GD 248/178/2 Thomas Smith to James Grant of Grant, 26 March 1764.
32. GD 248/251/1 Note of measurement of Cairnluichk Hill, 26 May 1764.
33. GD 248/178/2 James Grant, clerk to James Grant of Grant, 19 April 1766.
34. GD 248/201/2 'Accompt of the planting done by Thomas Smith according to the tennor of his first contract.'
35. GD 248/57/3 'Accompt of planting planted out in the month of March 1780.'
36. GD 248/456/3 Sir James Grant to James Grant, factor, 18 November 1797.
37. GD 248/456/3 George Brown, 16 March 1798.
38. GD 248/1549 p.335 Note of Firs planted by Sir James Grant of Grant, winter 1805 spring 1806.
39. GD 248/711/3 Lewis Sinclair to Sir James Grant.
40. GD 248/1549 P.141 James Grant, factor, 25 March 1805.
41. GD 248/713/1 Lewis Sinclair to Sir James Grant, 7 April 1810.

42. GD 248/1549 P.181 Letter to James Grant, factor, 14 May 1805.
43. GD 248/1550 p.197 Sir James Grant, 17 February 1807.
44. GD 248/1553 p.294 Cashier to P.Brown, 5 November 1813.
Note of firs to fill up at Dunan-Delliefure, Ballintomb - Gaich.
45. GD 248/1291, 119.
46. GD 248/1558 P.282-3 John Fraser, to John Grant of Congash, 18 March 1825.
47. GD 248/840 John Fraser, to John Grant of Congash, 5 August 1829.
48. Ibid., 7 March 1829.
49. GD 248/1565 p.542 Cashier to Captain Grant of Congash, 29 February 1832.
50. GD 248/1574 p.443 Cashier to Capt. Grant of Congash, 18 February 1839.
51. Ibid., p.451 Cashier to Capt. Grant of Congash, 21 February 1839.
52. GD 248/261 Strathspey Factory Vouchers Crop 1849.
53. GD 248/1291 General Accounts Crop 1844.
GD 248/1342 General Accounts Crop 1859.
54. GD 248/1849 p. 18 Memoranda Book.
55. GD 248/261 Strathspey Factory Vouchers Crop 1852, Plants from Doune Nursery.
56. RHP 13995 Abernethy Forest, surveyed by William Brown, 1858.
57. GD 248/3392/2/2 Strathspey Estate, Land use, 1870.

Chapter 7.

1. R.N.Millman, The Making of the Scottish Landscape, London, 1975, 135-137.
2. H.Barclay, A Digest of the Law of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1855, 433.
3. E.Dwelly, The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary, 1941.
4. R.W.Munro (ed.), Monro's Western Isles of Scotland, 1923, 25.
5. A.I.McConnochie, The Deer and Deer Forests of Scotland, 1923, 25.
6. RHP 1857 and RHP 8900; OS Grid reference: NJ 102193.
7. Dwelly, Gaelic-English Dictionary, 1941.
8. Barclay, Law of Scotland, 1855, 433-38.
9. J.H.Tait, A Treatise on the Law of Scotland as applied to the Game Laws and Trout and Salmon Fishing, 1928, 1.
10. Act Anent Hunting and Hawking, 1621, Cap. 31.
11. Irvine, Inquiry into Emigration, 1802, 56.
12. Court Books of the Regality of Grant (1690-1720), quoted in McConnochie, Deer and Deer Forests, 1923.
13. GD 248/31/1 Precept of Clare Constat, 15 October, 1736, Writs of Auchernach 1 (1589-1744).
14. GD 248/178/2 John Grant of Tullochgriban to James Grant, 1 June 1764.
15. GD 248/535/1/1 Quarter Sessions of the Peace, 19 March 1765.
16. GD 248/238

Power for Preserving the Game to Dond. McKenzie in Aittendow, 1766.

These are impowereing you Donald McKenzie Tacksman of the Improvement of Aittendow to carry a Gun and I strictly command that you take particular care of my forrests of the Parishes of Cromdale and Inverallen and be very observant that no person or persons of whatever rank or degree enter into these forrestrys to hunt or Fowl with Gun, Dog, Net or any other Engine hurtful or prejudicial to the game without my order & special Leave for so doing and likewise I enjoin

you to be very vigilant that no Encroachment be made upon my marches without acquainting me of it & using your own best endeavours to hinder the same. Given under my hand at Castle Grant this seventeenth day of July One Thousand seven hundreded & sixty six years.

(signed) James Grant.

17. GD 248/454/1
18. GD 248/44/1 'Memorandum as to Belliward, Toredow etc., 1796.'
19. GD 248/716
20. GD 248/846
21. Lady Strachey (ed.) Memoirs of a Highland Lady, 1898, 23.
22. GD 248/449/1
23. W.Forsyth, In the Shadow of the Cairngorms, 1900, 222-225.
24. Thomas Thornton, A Sporting Tour Through the Northern Parts of England and a Great Part of the Highlands of Scotland, 1804, 177.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. 'An Act for the more effectual Preservation of the game in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland; and for repealing and amending several of the Laws now in being relative thereto. Act 13 Geo.III, Cap.54.
28. GD 248/44
Preservation of Game.

The Game on Sir James Grant's estates in the counties of Inverness, Elgin, and Banff, having been very much destroyed of late, he finds it necessary to recall all former licences, and to express his intention of giving leave to no person whatever to shoot on his moors this season. Poachers if discovered will be prosecuted according to Law.

July 24, 1805.

29. GD 248/367/4 James Grant, clerk, to Lewis Grant, ground officer, Duthil, 10 September 1805.
30. GD 248/1556/169 Game, July 1817.
31. Forsyth, Shadow of the Cairngorms, 1900.
Game Regulations 1832.

1. No shooting or coursing is permitted on any part of the Grounds or Moors of the Estate situated within six miles of Cullen house, Castle Grant, or in the vicinity of Lochindorb.

2. The Black Game, pheasants, Red Deer and Roes are not to be killed without special instruction.

3. It is expected that no Gentleman who has leave to sport, will exceed the bounds of moderation in the number or quantity of Game he may kill.

4. No permission to shoot or course is to extend beyond one season.

5. It is to be always distinctly understood that a permission to sport is to be used only by the individual named therein and not by any other person (whether friend or game keeper etc.), for him.

32. Ibid.

33. GD 248/672/2/11 George Brown to Sir James Grant of Grant, 22 March 1808.

34. Millman, Making of the Scottish Landscape, 1975.

35. Thornton, Sporting Tour, 1804, 196.

36. I.D.Grant, Landlords and Land Management, 1978, I, 114-115.

37. W.Scrope, The Art of Deerstalking, 1897 Edn., 289.

38. Somers, Letters from the Highlands, 1977, 25.

39. Forsyth, Shadow of the Cairngorms, 1900, claimed that Capt. Grant of Congash would not hear of letting the moors in Strathspey. When an Abernethy gentleman with the privilege of shooting said to him that he could find a shooting tenant, Congash replied lightly 'you may have as long a lease as you like of Abernethy Moors for £50 a year.'

40. GD 248/840 John Grant of Congash to John Fraser, Cullen, 6 July 1829.

I am just now favoured with yours of the 5th in answer to which I would be much of Col.Grant's opinion regarding the game upon the Moors of Delnabo & Lynchork, altho from the many moors presently in the market I fear leave little chance of a suitable tenant to take them even if advertised, still from the moors being good there is no saying but a proper person may cast up & with this impression & the game in that quarter being totally lost to the proprietor I would hazard the expence of advertising it in the North British Advertiser; As to the Bridge of Carr Moors the proprietor

aught to reserve them to his own particular friends, there being no other suitable place interfering with Black Game or Roe with the exception of Glentulchen & which is situated far distant from an Inn or other accomodation, no doubt some of the Colonel's friends might for a few nights be Accomodated upon the moors of Dalvey and Skiradvie, as also upon the Braes of Tulloch Moors where Messrs. Gordon and Couper took up their residence last season, by all accounts the game are plenty this year and will furnish sport upon all moors.

41. GD 248/1567, 327 John Fraser, Cullen, to John Grant of Congash, 14 May 1833.
42. GD 248/716 Col. F.W. Grant to John Fraser, 9 May 1833.
43. GD 248/1567, 512 John Fraser to Capt. John Grant of Congash, 1 August 1833.
44. GD 248/716 Col/ F.W. Grant to John Fraser, 6 July 1833.
45. GD 248/716 William Innes, Edinburgh, to John Fraser, 3 July 1833. Offer for Abernethy Moor shooting on behalf of a friend of Lord Arbuthnott.
46. GD 248/716 Col. F.W. Grant to John Fraser, 23 June 1833.
47. GD 248/1568, 59-60 Hon.Col. Grant to John Fraser, 29 August 1833.

I return Capt. Grant's letter & the inclosure & I hope the Bridge of Carr Gentlemen may still find some sport - if their range is really so bad as stated by Mr. Littledale I think you might write the Capt. to give them the power of shooting on my other moors which are not engaged & where he thinks they might find some game or even occasionally trying the Black Game etc. if they wished it so as to make up for their own deficiency as it is not pleasant to disappoint them or give them just cause to complain after coming north - It is vexing that the game should be so much destroyed as the Bridge of Carr had at one time the character of being a good shooting Quarter.

This poor season came 2 years after a 'jubilee year' in 1831. (GD 248/1566, 250)

48. GD 248/806 Messrs. Littledale & Dixon to Capt. John Grant, 18 August 1833:

...near Aviemore Inn and on the side of Col. Grant's shooting ground of Lochindorb the land appears barren of birds altogether
49. GD 248/1568, 181 Col. Grant to John Fraser, 5 November 1833:

.... Can it be the case as stated in Lord A's letter that he & his party killed only 75 brace of grouse.

GD 248/806 Lord Arbuthnott to Capt. John Grant, 10 September 1833:

The extreme Scarcity of Game here has at length worn out our patience and perseverance; and we propose leaving this on Thursday morning.

50. GD 248/806 Capt. John Grant to John Fraser, 30 September 1833.

GD 248/1568, 152 John Fraser to Capt. John Grant, 21 October 1833.

51. GD 248/1568, 409 John Fraser to Capt. John Grant, 27 February 1834.

52. GD 248/1568, 152 John Fraser to John Grant, Congash, 21 October 1833. Fraser agreed to Col. Grant's plan to let shooting for a period of years rather than by the single season '....as it would in that case become the interest of the tenant whosoever he is to take the necessary means himself of protecting the game.'

GD 248/806 Memorandum of shooting ranges on the Earl of Seafield's Strathspey Estate to be let season 1844.

1.Advie and Dalvey Range. Extent above 6,000 Scots acres. Lowest rent £50.

2.Cromdale Hill Range. Extent above 12,000 acres. Lowest rent £150.

3.Bridge of Carr Range. Extent calculated at 20,000 acres. Lowest rent £200.

4.Lochindorb Range. Extent estimated to be nearly equal to No.3 and the same rent, including the cottage at Lochindorb furnished for a sportsman.

There will be no objection to leases of three, five or seven years being granted to respectable tenants on any of the above except on No.2 which at present can only be let for season 1844.

53. GD 248/ 489/4

54. GD 248/826 Capt. Grant of Congash to Alex. Fraser, 30 May 1849.

55. GD 248/490 Minute of agreement for let of Lochindorb shootings to Archibald Campbell of Blythwood, June 1844.

56. GD 248/1577, 144 In reply to an enquiry by Henry Meux of Theobald's Park the following statement of the Castle Grant shootings was made in a letter from the cashier to Capt. John Grant, 10 March 1842:

...that the castle is completely & splendidly furnished & a fit residence for a nobleman's family, that the shootings comprise about 20,000 acres well preserved, & stocked with the usual varieties of game including Grouse, Roe deer, Black Game etc. with excellent salmon fishing in the Spey.

57. GD 248/826 John Grant, Congash, to Alex. Fraser, Cullen House, 15 October 1849.
58. GD 248/327 Mr. Bass to John Smith, Strathspey factor, 4 September, 1863.
59. Ibid. Mr. Arrowsmith to John Smith, 27 April 1864.
60. Ibid. Mr. G. Holt to J. Smith, 3 September 1863.

Writing on behalf of Mr. Arrowsmith, Holt complained of Donald Fyffe's intention to remove the building materials from Sleich.

...There is at Sleuach a cottage or bothy which during the summer months is occupied by our game keeper Donald Anderson - It appears that this bothy was originally put up by one Donald Fyffe now living at Ellaneorn at Nethyside & on leaving it an agreement was made by him that for one years grass on the farm he abandoned all claim to the bothy or materials. The grass he had & for years now the said bothy has been used by us and our game keeper as a component part of the shootings.

61. Grid Ref: NJ085 382
62. Grid Ref: NH913 283
63. GD 248/489 Mr. Bass to W.G. Bryson, factor, 26 August 1850:

The excessive number of sheep renders the propagation of grouse to any great extent quite impossible. We are informed that the majority of farmers on these grounds depasture three times as many sheep as they are entitled to do, and many more than can thrive & prove profitable to their owners. We know many moors at less than half the rent where a much greater quantity of game is killed - we would much prefer keeping the ground at £300 if it could be made worth that rent than at £200 - a year July 1st as it is now to be pastured with an excessive stock of sheep and cattle. We conceive too that the improvement we desire, may be effected without any loss to Lord seafield & with a decided benefit to the farmers - we have heard of an arrangement adopted on the Duke of Richmond's Estate & on many others,

which we venture to bring under your consideration. The landlord determining the entire number of sheep that can be profitably run on the estate & the relative proportion each farmer is entitled to keep judging by his rent and other equitable considerations. I have mentioned this proposition to three farmers on this estate and they all approved of it - no doubt many would object to it because they now usurp an undue advantage over their neighbours & particularly over those with small capital who are unable to find their present relative proportion of sheep.... when the rent was £200 a year the quantity of game was far greater than it is now....

64. GD 248/330 T. Bass to J. Smith, 28 December 1869.
65. Ibid. 8 June 1870.
66. Ibid. John Grant, Knockanbuie, to J. Smith, 17 February 1870.
67. GD 248/489 Peter Brown to W.G.Bryson, 9 January 1851:

....he (Donald Grant, Culdorachmore) alleges that Glen Tulchen is rendered too high rented chiefly because his prevented from burning any part of the heather. Now, I know well that unless burning to a limited extent on such ground as glen Tulchen is, is permitted, the grazing is absolutely worth nothing. Burning heather land is just as essential to the grasing as ploughing & sowing are to the corn farmer and I will go further and assert that burning in moderation is just as useful to the sportsman as it is to the sheep farmer - and in valuing Glen Tulchen I never supposed but the tenant would be allowed to burn a sixth part of the whole extent of the Glen yearly and unless Grant is allowed to burn accordingly in my humble opinion he is entitled to an abatement of the Rent of the Glen. But if Mr. Williams knows anything about the management of Grouse ground he surely will not object to the ground being burnt in different patches say to the extent of one sixth or one seventh part of the total extent yearly this would always give heath of 6 or 7 years etc., down to one year, and if the burning is regularly carried on in this way I feel assured that the Grouse would increase rather than diminish in number.

I would not however recommend burning in the western district of Strathspey because there the Scots fir spring up & when that is the case the Grazing of sheep ought to be discouraged.

68. GD 248/328 John McPherson, Crask, to W.G.Bryson, 1 July 1852.
69. GD 248/330 Spencer Steers to J.Smith, 3 September 1870.
70. Neil T. Sinclair, Strathspey Railway Guide Book, 1975, 14-20.

71. GD 248/821 Peter Brown to Lord seafield, 18 September 1847.
72. Inverness Courier, 13 September 1843.
73. GD 248/330 R.D.Holt to J. Smith, 5 October 1869.
74. Ibid., 29 October 1869.
75. Ibid., 13 December 1869.
76. Ibid., 29 October 1869.
77. Ibid., 9 May 1870.
78. Ibid., 16 April 1870.
79. Ibid., 13 December.
80. McConnochie, op. cit., 1923, 97-98.
81. GD 248/1924 Rental of Shootings in Strathspey Season 1870.
82. GD 248/1930 Seafield Estate Strathspey District Rental Crop 1881.
83. GD 248/330 D.F.Rose, Grantown, to J. Smith, 12 August 1872.
84. GD 248/330 A.Oswald, Dalnahaitnich, to J. Smith, 4 April 1872.
85. J.C.Lees, A History of the County of Inverness, 1897, 278.
86. GD 248/330 Hon. T.Bruce to J. Smith, 28 May 1871.
87. GD 248/3363 Reports upon the Farms and Possessions in Strathspey by George Mackay 1867, 260.
88. Valerie Fleming, Hill Farming in Tulloch, Strathspey, unpublished typescript, 1969.
89. C.Fraser-Mackintosh, Antiquarian Notes, 1897, 420.
90. W.Scrope, Days of Deerstalking, 1894, 100.

Chapter 8.

1. Samuel Johnson, A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland in 1773, London, 1906, 52.
2. GD 248/38/1
3. GD 248/1552, 190 John Fraser to James McInnes, 11 June 1810.

...I see there is very little aid to be expected from the Rents till the summer cattle markets are over, and unfortunately there is every chance of the price of cattle falling on account of the bad appearance of the grass crop...

4. GD71/321 Monro of Allan Papers, Essay on the Allotment System.

APPENDICES.

Appendix I.

Resolution of the Country Gentlemen etc. and Mr. Grant of Grant's
approbation as to Servants etc.

We the Gentlemen Farmers and Principal tenants of the Country of Strathspey, Having considered the Difficulties we have laboured under for sometime with respect to the servants necessary for managing our respective possessions, and being determined to the utmost of our power to remedy those inconveniences, and to encourage servants and manufacturers of all kinds to settle in this country do resolve and determine that all and each of us, whose names are hereto subjoined, shall countenance and to the utmost of our power, consistent with our own interest and the interest of the country in general, support all manufacturers, cottars, servants, and day labourers who shall take up their residence in this county, by giving them all the assistance we can consistent with the Laws of the Country....

1769

GD 248/448/3

Appendix II.

The Aberdeen Journal,

Monday, April 18, 1763. (Numb. 797, p.4, col.2)

SIR LUDOVICK GRANT of Grant, Baronet, and Mr. Grant of Grant, being desirous of giving all the encouragement in their power to the reduced private soldiers, who have so bravely distinguished themselves during the late War, hereby offer to any of them that are willing to settle on any part of the new grounds belonging to them in the Counties of Inverness, Murray or Banff, any quantity of land from five to fifteen acres, according to the situation, and the person's ability to improve them, and that free of all rent for the space of seven years after next Whitsunday, and paying yearly thereafter, for the space of 12 years, at the rate of one shilling Sterl. per acre. And for their further encouragement, they shall have also gratis, timber from their woods for building houses proper for their accommodation, and Moss or Peatground for fire, at the distance of a quarter or half a mile from any part they choose to settle on, with the liberty of limestone from their quarries, which are dispersed over all these lands. Enquire at William Forbes at Castle Grant, and John Grant at Mulben near Keith.

Within these ten or twelve years there have settled on these grounds above an hundred and fifty tenants, who are now doing well, and new ones continue to settle there every year.

(repeated 25 April 1763; 2 May 1763)

Appendix III.

Copy Letter to the Lord Advocate from Sir James Grant,
19 April 1775.

Castle Grant.

The state of the Highlands as to Emigration really deserves the attention of Government, notwithstanding the troubles in America that spirit is daily gaining ground - it is with regret that I observe that Government amongst the other regulations in regard to America has not proclaim'd that no vessals loaded with Emigrants are to be allowed to sail - This as America is declared by Parliament to be in a state of actual rebelliom would appear to be no more than a proper and prudent Regulation of internal police for the preservation of his Majestys subjects, and more immediately of those poor deluded people, who in great numbers I am informed, propose sailing with their wives and families this spring, without knowing to what hardships they may be exposed - My heart bleeds for them, and makes me consider it my duty to represent this to Government by your means that they may, in case it has not ocured to them before, issue such orders as may seem most proper to his Majesty and his ministers to the different parts., and particularly Greenock from whence they commonly embark - if this is done no time is to be lost, as they sail in May - Government may never have a more proper opportunity of chequing this Emigrating disposition without force, and it will show the Highlanders that his Majesty attends to their safety.

When this is done, proper and effectual steps should be taken for encouraging and employing this valuable set of people when required.

As yet my country has been very little affected, but I am confident the frenzy will extend universally, if proper means are not taken to prevent it - it is in the power at present of any little pedling Merchant to carry off hundreds, and as the Highlanders are so connected by intermarrying you will easily see how far that may extend - These sort of people hire a ship, and by enticing people to emigrate not only secure a free passage to themselves, but I am told make considerable profits besides -also that it is really now become a species of low traffick - as the Post is immediately going off, I have not an opportunity of saying more, I therefore conclude with entreating your Lordships attention to this without loss of time, and subsenting myself with utmost regard,

My Lord

Your Lordships most Obedt. & most Humble Servt.

(signed) Ja. Grant.

GD 248/244/4

Appendix IV.

Memorandum for Sir James Grant, Baronet.

Sir James sold towards payment of his predecessors debts:

1. The Estate of Moy to Colonel Hugh Grant for	£16,500
2. The Estate of Mulhen to the Earl of Findlater	15,500
3. The Estate of Westfield to Mr. Russel and others	9,000
4. The Estate of Dunphail to Mr. Cummine of Altyre	7,000
5. The Estate of Achmades to Col. Grant of Arndilly	4,500
	sum 52,000

Besides Lady Grant's Estate, value £20,000.

His present rent of Lands in the Highlands, including the annual produce of woods, amounts to £5,000

Deduct interests of debts amounting to £83,000	4,150
Remains, subject to expence of management etc.	£850

Sir James has eleven children, five boys and six daughters. He has to support the rank and character of one of the first Highland chieftains, and is the son and successor of Sir Ludovick Grant, whose great expence as a chief was well known.

The family of Grant was possest of a large and almost unincumbered estate at the Revolution of 1688. The Laird of Grant, at this time, raised a regiment, at his own expence, and was, by the Estates of Scotland, declared a creditor to the public, for the balance due to him of £12,500 sterling.

This claim was again stated by the Parliament of Scotland at the Union, as a debt on the Publick, and has, at various periods, been confessed, as a just demand on the Publick.

The plain consequence is, that the family of Grant has been ruined by the Revolution and by its constant and uniform adherence to Revolution principles, and to the present Royal family during the rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

Besides the Estates, which Sir James Grant found it necessary to sell, at the proces above mentioned, Sir James his Grandfather, and Sir Ludovick his father sold the following estates:

1. Pluscarden to Lord Bruce	£6,000
2. Allochie to Grant of Carron	3,000
3. Allanbuie to the Earl of Findlater	9,000
4. Ballintomb to Sir Arch. Grant	3,000
5. Arndilly to Colonel Hugh Bruce	2,500
	£24,000
Add sales by Sir James	52,500
Lady Grant's Estates, value above	20,000
Lands sold at	£96,500

The amount of Sir James' claims on the Public, the justice of which has, at no period, been controverted, at simple interest, is above £71,800.

GD 248/371/6

Appendix V.

Schedule of Income August 1799 made up by Alex. Grant.

5 April 1799 - 5 April 1800 Abstract of return of taxed income.
(Acts 9 Jan., 21 March & 10 May 1799)

Income

Gross rent of Strathspey 1798 (including lands in Forres and Garmouth)	£5,702	8s.	7d.
Gross rent of Urquhart and Abriachan	1,841	14	1
House and Farm of Castle Grant valued at	100		
House and Ground at Elgin valued at	40		
House in Queen St. Edinburgh valued at	200		
House in Canongate let in 1798	20		
Pay as Colonel of the 1st Fencible Reg. deducting agency	365		
From office of Cashiership of excise for 1798	1,000		
Interest of £1,500 due by Mr. Ferguson of Pitfour	75		
	gross	£9,344	

Deductions

Land Tax	£100	19	3
Feu duty	28	4	7
Stipends inc. poor rates.	427	5	10
Schoolmasters salaries	52	9	9
Taxes on houses, windows, servants, horses, carriages etc.	143	8	
Repairs on farm buildings at 2½% of gross rent			
Strathspey	£142		
Urquhart	46		
	260		
Embanking River Spey	200		
Draining Lands in Abernethy & Cromdale (A sum not exceeding 3% of value of lands improved)	30		
Expence of managing the Estates & collecting rents	267		
Interest of Debts (£80,000)	4,000		
	£5,509		

Free income £3,835
10% for tax £383 10s.

GD 248/698/5

Appendix VI.

List of Bonds granted by James Grant, Younger of Grant Esq.

When Granted	To whom granted	Rate of Interest	Sum Granted	Interest for 1 year
1766				
July 11	Mr. John Grant Minr.of Kilmonaivaick & Lochaber	4½	200	9
Aug. 7	Alex. Lockhart, Craighouse	5	300	15
Aug. 13	Colonel Francis Grant, his uncle	5	1,000	50
Sept.26	Capt. Patrick Grant of Rothymurchus	5	1,000	50
Nov. 8	Alex. Grant, Ardroughtie	5	400	20
Nov. 12	Capt.Robert Grant of the 40th Regiment	5	1,000	50
1767				
Feb.19	John Cumming in East Grange	5	167	8 7s.
May 7	Walter Morrison, Minr. Deskford	5	100	5
May 20	Doctor James Fraser, London	5	3,000	150
Jun.15	John Grant, Chamberlain of Mulben	4½	900	40 10
Jun.23	Mrs. Sutherland relict of Lau. Sutherland, Elgin.	4½	100	4 10
Nov. 2	Alex. Duncan in Blarack	4½	388 17	17 10
6	James Lawlie, Minr. of Fordyce	4½	260	11 10
16	James Cumming of Sluie	4½	200	9
19	James Gordon, Clunymore, Mortlach	4½	500	22 10
Aug.12	Capt. Robert Duff of Logie	4½	1,200	54
1764				
Dec. 3	Mrs.Frigge, Findhorn	<u>4½</u>	<u>500</u>	<u>22</u> <u>10</u>
			<u>£13,215</u> <u>17</u>	<u>£539</u> <u>7</u>

GD 248/242

Appendix VII.

Letter: Sir James Grant to Grant of Tullochgriban - c. 1764

Sir,- As my father has been pleased to make over to me his estate in Strathspey, I am desirous to make myself acquainted with it as much as I can. And as I place great confidence in your affection and attachment to our family, I make no doubt of your giving me all the information in your power in the following particulars.

I therefore desire you will send me a distinct abstract of the rental by which you collect, which must contain the name of each tenant, small or great, the name of his farm or possession, the quantity of his rent distinguished into meal, money, wedders, hens, leet-peats, swine, or any other sorts of customs, each article in a column by itself, and in the last column the term at which each tack expires, and where there is no tack let it be marked so. As to the Improvers or new tenants, let them be set down as they pay immediately, and the term of their tacks expiring. I likewise desire you would let me know the names of all the forresters on the estate, whether in Abernethy or Duthil, or in the lower parts of the estate, together with the sallaries that are paid to them, and what is your opinion as to their characters and behaviour. Let me also know what sallaries were paid to the people at the sawmill, such as the surveyor, clerk, and sawmiller.

As I am desirous of introducing the use of lime universally into Strathspey, let me have your opinion of the best method of doing this. I should think there should be quarries broke up at convenient distances, and in the most accessible places, and that immediately after the bear-seed is closed, the tenants should enter upon making roads from the quarries, to be contrived as best to suit every farm.

I want to destroy as much as i can the bad custom of carrying loads on the backs of horses, and, in place of that, to introduce wheel carriages both to the mill and the moss, and therefore would have good roads made out to both, and so contrived as to meet or join in one another, and rendered as convenient as possible for all the tenants.

I shall be glad to know if the spirit of taking new farms or improvements continues. I wish it may. In making out the minutes of their leases, take them all bound to lime and inclose a certain quantity of their ground, and if they choose their place of dwelling near to the high-road; cause them make their houses a little regular, either in rows adjoining to one another or at some regular distance, if behind one another. And as I would wish to introduce the use of grass-seeds or hay, I don't know but making them inclose a little sufficiently for that end at first, would do better than the whole superficially.

As I have always observ'd great scarcity of fire at Castle Grant, I am determin'd to oblige the tenants to pay their leet-peats very regularly. Let me know your opinion of the best way of doing this.

Should not the ground officer go to the moss the day any leet-peats are cast and shew them the size and dimensions, for I found they made them too large? Should there not be a day fixt before which all the leet-peats should be paid? And should there not be an act made in the Baron Court decreeing a penalty for each leet not delivered in proper quantity and quality before that day? And what is that penalty?

As you have a power and factory from my father to warn out at next Whitsunday every person whatever, without distinction, whose tack expires at that term, so I hereby give you the like power and factory, and shall expect that the instructions of us both shall be complied with in this regard. If any choose to remain after Whitsunday, desire them to let me know, thro' you, what offers they make, and what is your opinion of their offers.

You will also let me know what lands in your collections are feued to our family, or from them, such as Delnaboe, and the lands in Badenoch. Acquaint me also who have heretable bonds on any part of your collection, on what lands, and for what sums. Let me also know who are wedsetters in Strathspey, of what lands, and for how much money, and if you don't know, I desire you may ask themselves, and report to me.

You will also give me an account who are the heretors whose lands lie next adjacent to those under your collection.

Acquaint me whether the Church of Cromdale is quite finish'd in the walls, ceiling, lofts, flooring, or paving, and pews - which of all those is not finished, and at whose door such an omission lies, and what is necessary on my part to force the persons deficient to do their duty, for I will have it finished this spring.

Send me a list of the particular principal sums due by my father for which you pay interest.

Let me know the names of all the bridges within your collection, over what rivers, or burns, they are built, and what tenants live in their neighbourhood, as I desire that after bear-seed is over, proper turf or feals may be put on the rails of each bridge, and these tenants obliged to keep them up.

I shall expect a punctual correspondence with you, and regular answers to all my letters, because without this neither you nor I shall know what we are about. Tho' I cannot expect a regular full answer to this long letter in course of post, yet you'll immediately acknowledge the receipt of it, and acquaint me of such things as you then know. The slow payments of the tenants surprize my father and me not a little, and therefore I expect to hear that you have remitted some more money to Mr. Hogg.

Sir William Fraser, The Chiefs of Grant, Edinburgh, 1883, II, 521.

Appendix VIII.

Hints about Woods, Tacks, Chamberlains to be lookt into.

William Lorimer

Of the Greeve or Bailiff

A Greeve or Bailiff should be a person of an honest character, who understands farming & laying out of ground & can read, write, & keep Accounts - likewise aught to know the value and goodness of horses & cattle.

All the labouring or farming utensils aught to be given under his care, by inventory: which inventory should be revised every year, that one may know whether what things are amissing, have been lost by roquery or neglect, or to what uses they have been applied.

Neglect, in a servant of this kind, who has so many things under his care, may be attended with as many bad consequences almost as roquery, & therefore when detected, requires severe animadversions & admonitions & frequently to be call'd to Accot.

The Greeve aught to have a Book containing a list of all the things he is daily using, as Wood, iron, etc. This Book should be divided into as many double pages as he has articles under his care, & on one page he should set down what number of such an article he got at first, or has been given to him since & from whom he receiv'd them - & on the opposite page he should mark when they were used, & for what uses This book should be revised by yourself once every 6 months.

If you have a Farm, your Greeve has the care & charge of it. In his book he sets down the quantity of seed sown in each field by name - when it is reapt, he aught to count or reckon what number of staucks (where 2 make a threave) there are on each field - by this means you have two advantages. 1. You have a guess what increase you will have this year after your sowing, & 2. by comparing that with the like produce another year, you see which year is best, & to what causes the increase or decrease has been owing.

When the staucks are dry they are brought into the Corn-yard, & put up in stacks or ricks - your grieve should have all your ricks numbered 1,2,3 etc. & set down in his book on what field or fields such a rick grew, & the number of staucks it contain'd which is a new check on him to give a faithful Acct. of it.

In winter the stacks are cast into the barn to be thresh'd. This is done by a person who is frequently employed in the country for this very purpose - & is call'd a corn-caster & is generally a man of good character. In casting the corn, he proofs it, that is, having cast off 20 sheaves to one side which is call'd the stock, he casts off one sheaf to the other side which is call'd the proof - These two are kept separate - & when all the stack is cast, the proof is immediately thresh'd, & winnowed - & then measured, & for every boll of proof, the

Greeve must account to you for 20 bolls of stock, & so in proportion for greater or lesser quantities, & for the proof itself also. The Grieve therefore should not be the corncaster because he might then proof as he pleased. The corncaster should keep a Book of Proofs in order to have it compared with the Grieve's book. For want of proper attention in this article great rogueries are committed.

The stock & proof being thus charged on the greeve he ought to give an account of the discharge, & to what uses it has been applied - and as corn for horses is one great article of the discharge, it ought to be examined every week as in that short time you can easily remember what horses of your own, or your company, have been in your stables. - And for the sake of your horses, you ought to understand fully how much is necessary for each horse, & then never leave it to the discretion of either groom or grieve to give them more or less.

At the end of the year you should not think it below you to look into your Grieves books, particularly with regard to your farm, & its produce, - by which you'll see whether you had better lett it to a tenant, & buy your grain of all kinds - you will also see one great article of your family - expences - this thing not being frequently reviewed, occasions much disorder, great abuse, & a most terrible expence - Many, many a gentleman who was in himself sober & frugal has been ruin'd by the extravagance, neglect, thieving of his servants.-

GD 248/38/1 (11)

Things deserving Mr. Grants attention, when he goes to Strathspey.
William Lorimer 1763

p.71

Forresters

Sir Ludovick has appointed 3 forresters for the Wood of Abernethy, three Grants all in Rynaittan. They formerly paid for that farm £60 Scots - they now pay for it £100 - with the common addition of wedders - hens - & are to have it free of rent for their sallary. They are reckoned very active & honest men, & tho' Mr. Grant should hereafter see cause to change them. - the rent of the farm of Rynaittan is raised £40 Scots yearly.

Mr. Grant must make out a tack for them.

Besides the above £100 of sallary, Mr. Grant gives them the half of fines for stolen wood.

They also get one shilling sterling from every man who gets warrants for timber for his houses. Invereshie etc think a penny is enough - perhaps a medium would do best. They say, this shilling is often too much - it is unequally settled. Mr. Grant must settle it better.

On average there will be 30 or 40 warrants from the factor yearly in Abernethy, not so many in Glenchairnich.

I think the three forresters of Abernethy are unluckily in one farm - they should live separately, & at different corners of the wood - in order the better to watch & protect it.

'Tis also unlucky that they are relations - if they were strangers,

they would be more apt to rival one another in care, & giving information.

You should ask the forresters who are the persons that have general warrants for wood & recall them.

Forresters must be instructed, that when any theft is discovered, the same should be prosecuted in a day or two thereafter - the memory of the tacks is soon lost, along with the resentment of the crime.

James Grant one of the present forresters, was in that office before, he then had but £60 Scots of sallary.

One forrester should live at Craigmore for the north end of the woods. It might be of great advantage to place some improvers at a very low rent on all the large & more frequented roads from the woods, & give them a reward for every tree or parcel of timber they should discover going out of the wood clandestinely.

I should think your forrester should have no farm - the woods should be his principal employment. Whereas if he is a farmer, he will make them a secondary affair.

Lord Aboyne has but one forrester to his woods, to whom he gives £40 Scots, & 6½ bolls meal for his victuals.

He has a penny for each parcel of wood sold to the tenants.

Besides this forrester he has a man who keeps the marking axe.

He sells his wood at 1 penny Sterl. per foot till they come to 19 foot, above that at 1½d. per foot.

Oak bark is sold at 6, 7, & 8 shillings per boll.

p.77

Comprisers or Apprisers or Birleymen.

Are sagacious sensible men in every Parish, who set & value on houses, corns, Damages done etc.

They have no salary from the heretor - but some carriages & services are remitted them - they may insist on something if they please, but they generally serve gratis.

The comprisers who valued the trees in the woods in order for sale, have from Mr. Grant one shilling a day - but they hurt rather than serve him - great partiality & favour to their friends.

Mr. Grant should call on the Birleymen - they will reckon it an honour, & they'll give him much information, a thing that above all others he stands in need of.

They have already, or ought to take Oaths for faithful administration of their office.

William Grant, Delhapple complains greatly both of them & the forresters, for favouring their friends in the sale of woods. - They and Lettoch conspired together in this kind of partiality very much to Mr. Grant's hurt.

p.87

The Ground Officer sometimes called the Mayor.

Is the common post or courier of the Landlord & Chamberlain to carry their orders to the tenants.

There are 3 of them in Strathspey, one to each parish.

Their sallaries are paid to them in meal by the tenants,

besides which,

The officer of Castle Grant, having extraordinary trouble, has a croft worth £10 Scots a year, for which he pays nothing.

Each tenant in Strathspey is bound to pay the Officer - his quota, which is about one peck of meal on each eighten-part.

They are also officers to the Commissary, Sheriff & Baron Courts, to which when they summoned any persons, they are paid for it.

Mr. Grant should get them all appointed Constables in order to execute the sentences of the Justices of Peace & Sheriff.

The officer of Castle Grant, Jamie Gressie, is a constable - he complains that he spends much time in impressing horses for carrying the baggage of parties of soldiers, as they move to & from Fort George - for which hitherto he has got no payment - upon enquiry I find the officers & soldiers are not bound to pay him anything, therefore application should be made to the justices.

GD 248/38/1/27

Appendix IX.

Account of charge and discharge betwixt the Hon. Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, Baronet and John Grant of Bellymore, Chamberlain of Strathspey.
Mart. 1758 & Whit. 1759.

Sallaries payable by Sir Ludovick Grant to Sundries vizt.

By the rent of a croft allowed James Huston, gardener at Mart. 1758	£10		
By do. allowed James Grant officer at Mart. 1758 for his croft	10		
By do. allowed James Grant of Rienettin forrester of Abernethy as his sallary due Mart. 1758, being the rent of his possession due said term	60		
By do. to John Willox forrester of Glenchernich as his sallary from Mart. 1756 to Lamb. 1758, when he was removed as appears by Whiteraw's letter, Discharge 8th September 1759	63		
By sallary allowed by Sir Ludovick Grant to John Cumming musician for the years 1754,55,56 and 1757 at 20 mks. yearly and which tho Cumming was out of the service those years, was paid by the factor at Sir Ludk. Grant's desire John Cumming's discharges	52	6	8
By sallary allowed the said John Cumming from Mart. 1757 to Mart. 1758 discharge 20 August 1759	40		
By two bolles meal allowed Allan Grant in Culdorach for keeping the woods of Tulchen from Mart. 1757 to Mart. 1758 discharge 26 July 1759	10	13	4
By the factor's sallary from Mart. 1757 to Mart. 1758	300		

GD 248/241

Appendix X.

Proposalls about carrying on a Survey of Mr. Grant's Estate by Peter May, land surveyor.

April 1767

The surveyor has just now had a comuning with Mr. Forbes who said it was recomended by Mr. Grant that some notes should be marked down about carrying on the said survey in the most usefull manner for the improvement of the Estate, which the surveyor has here subjoynd with much submission.

If a general survey and mensuration of the Estate is wanted, in that case it would shorten the work to begin at a side and carry on the Lands on both sides of the River at the same time. When Davochs or ffarms are pickt out here and there it protracts time much, and in the event of a general survey being taken afterwards, these partiall surveys save but little labour.

As the cornlands are the most valuable part of the estate, the greatest attention is necessary to them, and therefore the contents and measures of the severall cornfields must be accurately surveyed agreable to their present Boundings, and their name and measures markt down accordingly, with the marches of the different ffarms and the hills and pasture ground that ly contiguous thereto, so far as may appear usefull or necessary.

The courses of the Burns and Rivulets must be accurately surveyed to their sources, (if such fall within the lines of survey,) with proper remarks where they can be divided from their channells for watering ground, etc. which in highland estates may be turned out to much account as there is generally a command of water.

In making out surveys of the low country Estates, it has been the surveyors practice for severall years by gone, to value the ground and make out estimate Rentalls of what they are worth yearly, and that this may be done with the more judgement, as soon as the measures are taken and the rude draught protracted, the surveyor repairs to the ground and attentively examines the quality and situation of the soil, and rates it at so much per acre, and in this he has allwise in view that the land lord should have an adequate value for his lands & the tacksman live with industry and this he has found the most usefull application of the business.

After the Lands are valued, he then proposes alterations in the boundaries of the ffarms where they appear necessary. When lands lye discontiguous and at a distance from the ffarm house he generally cutts off the ouskirts and joyns them to some others with which they ly more contiguous, or turns them into crofts when the quallity of the lands will bear it, and it will be necessary to have particular regard to give the severall farms on this estate the most convenient access to the hill.

The situation of the country is particularly attended to by the

surveyor, and the means of improvement that it affords. Lands near a mercate where crops are vendible without much carriage is of advantage particularly to a farmer. again where lime, marle, or even a command of water can be had that must add very considerably to the intrinsick value of the lands, and are such means of improvement as the surveyor has much dependence on.

The above and preceeding notes are just markt down as they occurred, without any order or method. If Mr. Grant wants more particular information it can be given afterwards.

The surveyor has a couple of lads who are bred to the business and can measure land by themselves who he means to employ at the survey and for whom he is accountable. He has other two who serve as assistants at leading the chain, setting poles etc.- For the first two half a crown is to be charged for each per day and the other two one shilling each, in all seven shillings and the surveyor is to charge for himself eight shillings per day in all fifteen shillings for himself and four lads.

If Mr. Grant approves of these proposalls. it will be necessary to give the surveyor a generall order on all the tennants to shew him their marches and the names of the fields and such other information as shall be found necessary - some hands to carry on the chain will also be wanted at Mr. Grant's expence.

GD 248/449/3

Appendix XI.

Account: The Hon. James Grant of Grant to Peter May for Surveying.

Castle Grant 11 December 1767

To surveying and measuring part of the estate of Grant from Monday 17th April to Wednesday the 10th of June thereafter inclusive makes 45 days for the said Peter May and a servant for writing or leading the chain etc., viz. for Mr. May 8/- per day and for his servant 1/-, in all 9/-

£20 5 0

To the said Peter May and his servant from the 3rd of July to the 8th inclusive, taking a survey and making a plan for a new channel to the water of Shewglie in Urquhart, and marking out some inclosures and giving directions for repairing and mending up the broken down banks of said water as per advice from Mr. Grant; 6 days at 9/- per day

£2 14 0

To the said Peter May and a servant from the 25th July giving directions for carrying on the survey at Castle Grant, dividing and valuing the lands of Curr, and making out conditions and minutes for tacks; 12 days at 9/-

£5 8 0

To the said Peter May and a servant who assists to write and take out the measures from the 9th of November to the 12th December thereafter, at dividing, valuing and putting in order such farms as were out of tack, and setting and making out minutes for these tacks, viz. for 33 days at 9/-

£14 17 0

To Alex. Taylor and George Brown, surveyors, who surveyed measure by themselves from 27th April to the 7th December thereafter is 224 days from which deduct 12 days absence of one of them. viz. George brown; there remains 212 days at 5/- per day for both

£53 0 0

To 3 days travelling from Aberdeen to Strathspey and as many returning home, in all 6 days for the surveyor and his assistants at 14/- per day

£4 0 0

To a carriage horse for instruments & other necessaries from Aberdeen to Castle Grant being 50 miles at 3d. per mile and the same expense returning home

£1 5 0

To monies paid out on account of Alex Forbes when going along with the other surveyors

9 2

£102 2 2

By cash from William Forbes as per George Brown
and Alex. Taylor's receipts for

4 7 7

£97 14 7

Altho' the balance be £97.14.7 Sterling yet there is only to be
charged £90 neat for which a note is accepted by Mr. Grant payable
against Whitsunday next, which, when paid is in full of this account
and the same as discharged by Peter May.

GD 248/539/1

Appendix XII.

Account current betwixt James Grant Esq. of Grant and George Taylor
surveyor of land.

Dr.

1772

June 20	To 3 quires paper for rude draughts	2	10
July 4	To William Munro for 2 days at Reavack etc.	1	6
11	To John Fraser 5 days at Ballefurth etc	3	9
12	To Donald Grant 12 days at 10 per day	8	4
17	To Hugh Rose		6
24	To William Meldrum 15 days showing the marches of Lurg's lands.	15	0
Aug. 5	To William Fraser for nine days at Tulloch	9	0
8	To James McAdam 1 day	1	0
14	To Donald Grant	2	0 0
15	To William Burges	2	2 11
31	To Harry Tytler	2	2 0
	To one half years wages expiring 22nd June last	26	0 0
	To 20 days employed in Strathspey, Urquhart etc., since the 22nd June last		
		<u>£34</u>	<u>6 10</u>

GD 248/527/4/29

Appendix XIII.

Note of the valuation of the lands of Clury, Milntown of Muckerach & Miln thereof for a 2nd nineteen year & the sum to be given for Meliorations of houses & inclosures, 1778.

After inspecting & considering the value of the lands of the Davoch of Clury and Eightenpart of Milntown of Muckerach, it is thought the lands of these farms one with another are worth eight shillings Sterl. per acre as there is no value put upon the grass thereto belonging. Therefore, the rent of these lands for a second nineteen years at the above rate for 242 acres of arable lands therein contained should be £96 16sh. exclusive of £20 for the Miln of Muckerach so that the augmentation upon the whole for the second nineteen years agreeable to the above valuation will be yearly the sum of £44. 12. 9½ Sterl.

The melioration to be given for the walls of the Dwelling houses & offices built on these lands with stone & thorough lime & further fixt wright work, wood & workmanship thereof & slating the same should not exceed the sum of three hundred pounds St. at the issue of the 2nd nineteen-years on removal therefrom after their expiry thereof And that for inclosures with stone dykes or dyke & ditch land with stone & done with the approbation of the proprietor or any having his order not exceeding two hundred pounds Sterl. & both by approbation of men mutually chosen at the expiry of the 2nd nineteen years or the tacksmans removal from these lands after the issue thereof And that the said sum of three hundred & two hundred pounds Ster. for meliorations shall include what is already done or shall hereafter be done on their lands. It is understood that no allowance whatever is to be given for sunk fences, fail dykes or ditches.

In the event of one nineteen years lease at the augmentation rent of twenty guineas yearly for the above lands & miln as already settled - The melioration for houses & offices as aforesaid not to exceed one hundred & fifty pounds St. The one half thereof upon the dwelling house & the other upon the offices expressly - and the melioration for inclosures should be the same for one nineteen years as above mentioned for the two nineteen years.

Contents and estimates of the Davoch lands of Clury & the aughtenpart land of Milntown of Muckerach.

	arable						
	a.	r.	f.				
Clury & Craitnahawn	212	1	29	at 5/10½	62	10	0
Milntown of Muckerach	30	1	19	at 7/-	10	10	0
					73	0	0
The present rent of Muckerach					17	8	4
					90	8	4

NB There is no value put on the grass of either place tho' there be a considerable quantity of that article.

The present rent of the Miln of Muckerach is put down here as it did not come under consideration when the lands were valued. Whatever additional rent it can bear should be added to the above estimate - In consideration that there is nothing charged in the above estimate for grass & pasture ground it is thought very moderate - the inducement to make it so low is that the haugh ground of which there is about 70 acres upon Clury & Milntown of Muckerach is subject to the overflow of the water:- An earthen dyke built at about 30 yards distance from the bank of the water would prevent the overflow; This dyke should be made broad in the Foundation, & laid off from both sides as they build it up, so that it may be more like a round mole than a dyke, this method of constructing it will prevent the water from cutting it in speats, because as the water rises upon it she will press it down - when the water makes a narrow it would not be adviseable to follow her course with the dyke, as it would interrupt the run of the water and throw her too much upon the opposite side - if the turn of the water is large it may be carried round, but at least at double the distance from the bank, in order that the water may have room to discharge itself easily - The dry lands of Clury are a very proper subject for lyme & as the lymestone & moss are at the door they may be limed to great advantage at a small expense - The soil in general is a black hazely mold. The soil of the haugh ground a sandy loam.

Paid at present by James Grant of Clury, yearly,

Viz: For the Wadset Davoch Lands of Clury

The annual rent of the wadset sum (4000 merks)	£11	2	2½
Superplus Duty	15	0	11½
Cess for Auchochlerick, a part of said Davoch		6	8
Stipends for the Davoch Lands of Clury &			
Cess to the collector of the cess at Inv. for			
the rest of the Davoch Lands of Clury, which			
he pays yearly besides the above.		<u>3</u>	<u>13</u> <u>8</u>
	£30	3	6

For the 8n pt. of Milntown of Muckerach

Money rent	£8	6	8
Stipends		9	2½
		8	15 10½

For the Corn Miln of Muckerach

Money rent	£16	13	4
A miln swine		15	
		<u>17</u>	<u>8</u> <u>4</u>
	£56	7	8½

NB The Prorogation of the wadset lands of Clury expires at Whit. 1780.

The tack of the Miln & 8n Pt. land of Milntown of Muckerach expires at Whit. 1777 -

There is a hill possession called Glentearrich which Clury possess as a pertinent belonging to the Davoch lands of Clury which is not taken any notice of in the within estimate, yet is worth from four to five pounds sterling of yearly rent if not more.

GD 248/536/3

Appendix XIV.

Letter: George Taylor to James Grant of Grant.

27 April 1771

I send by the bearer a Plan of the lands of Kirktown, Kylentra, and the planted parks; The contents are wrote at large upon the plan, the Divisions as described upon the plan, are numbered upon the Contents and as there will not be a separate park for everyone who will want land there I think it will be no great inconvenience that two or more have one Park among them.

On the east side of the field called Lagganriach Nos. 3 & 4 of the divisions there is a road designed to serve the park above for the convenience of the possessor, which however will not require a double dyke immediately.

At the west side also there is a road, for a passage to the hill and for those that live above the brae, on account of it being the easiest and does little dammage, as the side of the ridge it goes upon is only gravel.

The road leading to the Kirk of Inverallan is marked AAA and divides the lotts below the road. As it is not agreeable to your first design of it I shall only offer my reasons for it [and] leave it to your determination. First it divides the land to be inclosed into proper divisions, next that it cuts less of the arable lands, and lastly that it will require much less dyke to inclose the land, as to its going over the hillock at the houses of Kirktown, very little labour will make it as easy as if it went round the foot of the hillside.

John McGregor's dyke I have marked upon the ground agreeable to your directions, except at the burnside which as there is no wood to obstruct him and no great necessity for a passage that way to the hill and also that there is some improvable ground below the brae I have designed along the burnside.

The content of the lands on the west side of the Burn of Craggan are not taken in as they are upon another sheet.

I should be very glad my scheme of it placed.- Since you went from here I have been going on with the sheets of Strathspey. My brother will be here in a few days, and how soon ever the estimate of Delnabo is made out shall be sent you, your directions concerning Tulchen and every thing else shall be carefully attended to...

GD 248/524/1

Appendix XV.

Nov. 11 1907 List of the Cote houses in the Parish of Abernethy given in this day by Peter Grant, Ground Officer, Abernethy.

List of the Cottars in the Parish of Abernethy.

<u>Davoch of Congash</u>		£	s.	d.
on farm of				
Mains of Congash	4	2		
Belnatua	1		7	6
Belnluig	1		5	
Inchbrock	1		5	
Balnrich	4	2		
<u>Davoch of Achnagonaln</u>				
on farm of				
Achnagonaln	3	1	10	
Revack - moss of	2		10	
Revack	1		5	
Upper Linchile	1	1	6	
Sleachlach	3		15	
<u>Davoch of Belliefurth</u>				
on farm of				
Belliefurth	1		10	
Achernack	1		10	
Ditto on Tmdow of do.	1		10	
Ditto on Delriach of do.	1		10	
on Balnafeallach of do.	3		15	
on Balmeanach of do.	2		10	
on Badenndu	1		10	
on Lower Plotta	2		10	
<u>Davoch of Belliemore</u>				
on Farm of				
Belliemore & Belnaclach	8	4		
on Croft of Belliemore	2	1		
Improvement of Croft of Belliemore	1		10	
on Rienagattnach	1		10	
on Curr of Glenbrown	1		7	6
on Culreach	1		8	
on Glenlochy	1		5	
<u>Davoch of Culnakyle</u>				
on farms of				
Belnagown	2		12	
ditto	1	1		
on Birchfield	3	1	10	
on Lower Causay	5	1	12	
on Upper Causay	3		18	
on Rylechie of Rymore	1		5	
on Kichannlupe	2		6	

<u>Davoch of Rothiemoon</u>			
on Upper Rothiemoon	4	1	10
on Lower Rothiemoon	3	1	
at Bridge town of Nethy	2		6
on Stranmore	2		8
on lower Dell of Aby.	2		8
on Rieoag	1		5
<u>Davoch of Gartinmore</u>			
on farms of			
Tomchrochar	5	1	10
on Kylachy	3	1	8
on Croftronan	1		6
on Mains of Gartinmore	1		8
on Croftnagorm	3	1	
on Milngarroch	2	1	
<u>Davoch of Wester Tulloch</u>			
on Mains of Tulloch	1		8
on Inchdroum	1		15
on Chapeltown	2		16
on Riechallach	1		10
on Rienuie	2	1	16
<u>Davoch of Easter Tulloch</u>			
on Easter Tulloch	4	1	12
on Lynnamer	1		5
on Easter Riennerch	1	1	
on Achdergrach	1	1	
<u>Davoch of Clachaig</u>			
on Clachaig	2		10
on Newtown of Ellan	2	1	10
on Crofts of Lurg	1		3
on Feasheallach	5	2	5
on Cromald at Lyngarrow	1	1	
on Boglachannack	2		12
<u>Davoch of Muckrach</u>			
on Middrum	1		7
<u>Davoch of Lettoch</u>			
on Lettoch	1	1	
on Ellaneorn	2	1	
on Upper Dell of Abernethy	2	1	
on Linestock	7	2	10
on Croftmacqueen	1		5
on Garline	3		17
on Muir of Garline	5		10
on Corrychullie	1		5
on Lower Connage	1		5

GD 248/444

Appendix XVI.

A Rentall of Lurgg and Clachack as presently sett by John Grant of Lurgg. 16 Augst. 1749

[8n pts.]

	Alexander Fraser in Braes of Lurgg pays rent	£6	0	0
	Donald Riach there pays	12	0	0
2	Peter Grant McAlisteruigg pays	6	13	4
	The rest of the Mains possest by Lurgg	<u>75</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
	The rest of the Mains computed as 2 8n pts. of the davoch & comprised by the Birleymen of the country @			
1	The Eightenpart of Avinroy pays	£23	13	4
1	The Eightenpart of Ballintuim pays	23	13	4
4	The oyr. 4 Eighten parts of Lurgg & Clachack and crofts pays	94	13	4
	The suppernummerary oxgate pays	<u>5</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>4</u>
Dauch	The 6 Eighten part & the odd oxgate pays in hail	147	18	4
	Alex. Stuart in Croft pays rent & £4 brew tallow	17	6	8
	Donald Lisach in Inchtomach pays	13	6	8
	James Cuthbert in Lyngarry pays	10	0	0
crofts	Peter Fraser in Lupnedow pays old rent	6	13	4
	Do. augmented by lurgg Junior	3	6	8
	Pollinstock Croft pays	10	0	0
	Croft Finlay pays	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	All the Crofts pays	65	12	4
	The 18 custom year old wedders @ £1.13.4	£30	0	0
	To 30 reek or custom hens @ 3d.	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>
	All the customs paid both wedders & hens	34	10	0
	The whole rent of Lurgg & Clachack including the Mains customs etc.	348	0	8
	To cash impignorated on the wadsett of Lurg @ 6 per cent is £4,000 Scots vide:	£240	0	0
	To do. £2,000 att 5 per cent vide:	<u>100</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	The @ rent of the wadset money	£340	0	0
	The profit arising from the wadsett of Lurgg	£8	0	8

GD 248/150

Appendix XVII.

List of Wedsetts, the sums for which they were wedsetted & the terms of their respective Redemptions.

	<u>merks</u>	<u>Redeemable at Whit.</u>
Delrachny, 5 davochs	26,750	1771
Gartenbeg, 1½ davochs Lachlan Grant	14,000	1771
Milton of Duthel, 2 eightenparts	4,500	1771
Congash, 1 davoch Mr. Wm. Grant	9,000	1771
Kinchirdie, 12 Eightparts	12,000	1771
Mullochard, 5 Eightparts	6,000	1762
Tulloch, 1 davoch	3,000	1776
Lurg	9,000	1775
Gartenmore, a large davoch	8,000	1771
Lethendy, 10 Eightparts	7,688	1767
Tullochgorm, one davoch	5,200	1776
Clurie, 2 davochs 16,680 merks		1771
& Muckerach		
" , 1 davoch 4,000m. Clury	<u>20,680</u>	1780
	<u>125,810</u> merks	

£6,989:8:10 Sterling

GD 248/38/1/27 'Things deserving Mr. Grants attention, when he goes to Strathspey.' William Lorimer, 1763.

Appendix XVIII.

Notes by George Taylor, 1771

Memorandum for Mr. Grant relating to some new Improvements.

Corrieshellach is a piece of improvable ground lying south from and adjoining to Dellachaples Improvement of Eskine. It is proper to be set and that part of it which I marked out upon the ground may be worth for a nineteen years lease of - £1:6:00 yearly rent.- There is a considerable quantity of improveable ground near this, but it will not be proper to set much more of it till Dellachaples lease expire.

Faebuie lying east from Tornabirack, is a very Improvable piece of ground, and proper to be sett. It might accomodate two tenants very well, but if one getts it there may be a small piece cutt off the easter end of it, and as that is the most improvable part there aught not to be much cut off. To two tenants it might be worth yearly £2:2:00 and to one tennant with part cut off £1:14:00.

The Improvement wanted in the Cambruich to the east of Congass is not proper to be sett.

Linabrilack lies upon the side of the high road leading from Grantown to Strath Down, and close by another Improvt. possessed by Peter Grant as may be seen from the rough draught, it is proper to be set and may be worth of yearly rent £1:8:00.

Derlein lies southeast from Auchauchirnigh and at a considerable distance from thence in the hill. There is a large piece of ground in this place, which would not be all proper to be sett till Auchauchernighs lease expire, but the part of it which I marked off, lies above and south from the common road leading from Congass etc. to the Dell of Abernethy etc. and proper to be sett £1:11:00.

NB. It is my opinion that no improvers during their first lease should pay any fowls as they have but a small quantity of corns, but they may pay wedders.

GD 248/503

Appendix XIX.

[Improvement of Derrilean, c.1787]

It is proposed to set the Improvement of Derrilean and the open unset pasture round it to the haill tenants possessors and improvers of the davoch of Dellifure, Port, Achnahannet, Achnarrownmore, Achnarrownbeg, Achnafearn, Tordow, Belliward, Cottartown, Lynmore and improvements above Belliward from year to year at the rate of one shilling sterling for each possessor of an 8n part land, sixpence sterling for each possessor of a lesser quantity, payment made immediately at agreeing and before they send my cattle or bestial there.

Davoch of Delliefure 8, 8n pts. @ 1/- each	£	8	0
Davoch of Achnahannet 4, 8n pts. @ 1/- each		4	0
Davoch of Port 6, 8n pts. @ 1/- each		6	0
Achnafearn, Tordow and Belliward		3	0
Cottartown		4	0
Improvers above Belliward		1	0
Achnarrownmore		5	0
Achnarrownbeg		4	0
Donald Geddes in Mein		0	6
William Grant in Kichanroy		0	6
Lynmore		1	
Jo. Geddes, Tombain		0	6
	£1	17	6

GD 248/537/3/8

Appendix XX.

List of Fairs at New Grantown.

Oct. 1768

Manufactures	1	New Years Fair	1st Tuesday, Janry.
Ewes & lambs, sheep & cattle	2	St. Georges Fair	Last Tuesday of April
Sheep, cattle, wool, lambs	3	Figgat Fair	First Friday of June
Cattle	4	Lady Fair	1st Friday of Augst.
Do., sheep, wedders	5	Summer Eves Fair	3rd Tuesday, Sept.
Do.	6	Hallow Fair	First Thursday, Novr.

NB. There is a weekly mercat every Friday.

GD 248/672/4

Appendix XXI.

Copy Report as to the state of the crop of Strathspey,
1794 & 1795.

At Grantown the Twenty first day of november One thousand seven hundred and ninety five years.

We Captain Alexander Grant of Tullochgorm and James Grant Factor to Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart. over his lands and estate in Strathspey having met here this day with severals of Sir James Grants principal tenants on said estate, and after making particular enquiry at those present, and at sundry others from the different parts of said estate for these ten days past Find, that there are at present about 500 bolls of oat meal remaining on hand with gentlemen and tenants on said estate lying within the County of Inverness of crop mvij and ninety four years and the like quantity of oat meal of said crop with the gentlemen and tenants on said estate lying within the County of Elgin & Forres.- that this present crop mvij and ninety five so far as can be yet judged of will be sufficient for the inhabitants on said estate, in both counties, including the village of Grantown, for twelve months from this time.

That crop mvij and ninety four of said estate was a more plentiful crop in grain than the present or than that of a fair crop of a common year, and the present crop is supposed rather better than that of a common year.- The crop of potatoes on said estate in mvij and ninety four was reckoned sufficient for the maintenance of its inhabitants for three months, and the crop of potatoes this year is reckoned equall to nearly two months maintenance, potatoes are not as yet so much used here as in some other places, for food to the inhabitants, but given mostly to horses, cattle and swine.

GD 248/455/1

Appendix XXII.

Conditions on which the tenants of Cottartown are to get their possessions together with some additional improvements.

Their tacks on the possessions they presently occupy continue five years after Whitsunday 1768 and there is to be added thereto 14 years more making in all 19 years. They are also to get 19 years from whitsunday 1768 of the improvable moor ground lying east of the high road leading from Belliward to Craigbea consisting of - acres.

They are to pay for their present possessions such additional rent as shall be agreed on of which they shall have advice in a month hence, and that additionall rent to commence at the expiration of their present tacks vizt. for cropts - And for the improvable ground they are to pay the sum of - yearly for the first 6 years, and for the 2nd 6 years the sum of - And for the remainder of the said 19 years the sum of -

They are to inclose and divide with dyke and ditch and also to drain in the best manner the said improveable moor ground according as it shall be lined and marked out to them - The inclosing to be complete in the first two years, and the divisions in 4 years more making in all 6 years for inclosing and dividing - The drains to be made in the course of their improvements, but allwise at the sight and direction of some proper person appointed by Mr. Grant and this direction to respect the size and dimensions of the dykes and ditches as well as the drains.

They are to improve and cultivate properly 4 acres yearly of the said moor ground during the first period of six years, and five acres yearly in the next period of six years, or untill the whole is completely improved. The wet swampy places to be pared and burnt where the swaird will bear it and the dry ground by lime, at the rate of 60 bolls to an acre at least two cropts to be taken only after burning unless they follow it in with dung or proper manure, and four cropts after lime, the third cropt, being allwise Pease or Turnip, and the fourth or last cropt Barley and grass seeds. The wet ground as well as the dry ground when throwen into grass to be allwise laid down with grass seeds when properly drained and put into good condition.

They are to leave the said improvements inclosed and divided with sufficient Dyke and Ditch so as to be fencible against Black cattle for which they are to have no allowance or melioration at their removal and they are also to leave the one half of said improvement in grass at the expiration of their lease. But if they shall either inclose or divide with stone dykes or line up the ditches with stones, in that case the one half of such stone dykes or lined up ditches shall be paid them at their removal and that according to appreciation.

In order to encourage and promote the sowing of grass seeds and to induce them to repair in a more substantiall manner their ffarm

houses the Proprietor agrees to have their houses and biggings appreciate, and to allow each of them to meliorate their said houses to the extent of a years rent to be paid them at their removal over and above the present inventory according to an appreciation, But on this express condition that the walls be built with stone and mortar and snakepened with lime.- If they are meliorate more than a full years rent, In that case they are either to be paid for such surplus repairs or have liberty to remove the timber. They are also to have grass seeds at the proprietors expence for such parts of the said new improvements as are to be laid out into grass for the first time only providing allwise that the ground be put into good heart and sufficiently prepared for them, and this to be inspected by some proper person having Mr. Grants authority for that purpose.

In regard that the corn lands of cottartown are incumbered with stones in many places and that clearing them either by inclosing or otherwise would be of the outmost consequence to the possessors, with that view the proprietor is to allow the tacksman at the rate of - per ell at the expiration of their lease for every inclosure left compleatly fenced with stone dykes not under four foot high and free from breaches or bulges, these inclosures being allwise made with consent and advice of Mr. Grant.

To make the country and the high road leading to Castle Grant on the north side the more agreeable, the Proprietor reserves the liberty to plant a strip along the east side of the said road of 30 feet wide so far as it lyes opposite to said improveable ground. He being at the expence of inclosing the said strip on one side, and also to have power and free access at any time within the said lease, to inclose and plant some piece of uncultivable moor ground lying from the house of Cottartown and that without any allowance or diminution of rent whatever.

As the ffarm houses of Cottartown are at present in view of the house and make but a bad prospect it shall therefore be optional to the proprietor to alter the situation of them provided such alteration be attended to and take place before any inventory or melioration be made on the houses and that such alterations in point of situation shall not make the steadings discontinuous or inconvenient for thie cornfields.

GD 248/238

Appendix XXIII.

Letter: William Duffus to Sir James Grant of Grant, 31st Oct., 1808.

Carr, I find the contents of the ground to be as follows. viz:

	<u>acres</u>	<u>roods</u>	<u>falls</u>
18 tenements adjoining the Bridge, 24 falls each	2	2	32
24 tenements above the brae, 24 falls each	3	2	16
26 lots each $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, part of the lands of Carr	10	2	
1 lot $\frac{1}{2}$ acre and 32 falls	17	<u>2</u>	<u>32</u>
		2	00
7 lots north of Dulnan, one acre and one half each	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>00</u>
total acres	28	0	00

The breadth of the lots are different, in proportion to the lengths, but the content of each of them south of Dulnan is $\frac{1}{2}$ acre (excepting the last, or most distant from the village, which is 32 falls more) and the content of each of those north of Dulnan is $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre each...

GD 248/201/2

Appendix XXIV.

Hints about Woods, Tacks, Chamberlains to be lookt into.

William Lorimer, 1763

Of Tacks & Tenants.

A Tack, Lease, or Assedation, is a Contract or covenant between a Landlord or Master of a certain Farm, & one who is to become his Tenant on this farm in virtue of this tack or covenant, who is also called Tacksman.

In this Tack the master letts or setts to the tenant a certain Farm, Room, Town or Possession (for in Scotland a Farm has all those names) for a certain fixt number of years commencing at a certain fixt term of Whitsunday or Martinmas. Along with the arable Lands of the Farm the Master letts to the tenant all the Grass, Houses, Mosses, Pasture, Parts and pendicles of it as it was possess'd by the former tenant - And he warrants it to be secure & safe to the tenant during the existence of his Tack.

A Lease is frequently granted to some other persons in Reversion, besides the present immediately contracting tenant, & great care is to be taken to have such persons named distinctly - If to a man's son, he should be nam'd - You should expressly exclude Executors or Assignees from any right to the Reversion after their tenants Death - many inconveniences arise from allowing persons of that description to come into your Estate - they may be poor - litigious - & of bad characters or they may be great people, & give you disturbance: for tho' the Law protects every mans property, yet one would not chuse to have to do with one that can by force, or inclination, invade it - turning such a person out always gives you trouble.

A Master frequently in Tacks allows a tenant to have subtenants - if it is so, the number of them should be condescended on - & it should be expressly declared that such subtenants should be of no higher degree than the principal Tenant himself.

In general if a Farm is so large as to allow subtenants, I should think it better the master made those his own tenants & make them hold of himself alone - by which means he has more profit & the poor people are preserv'd from oppression.

In Strathspey where there is plenty of waste ground & plenty of Moss & Wood, the more tenants, the better perhaps it is not so convenient in Murray & Banffshire.

As to the number of years for which a Tack should be granted, that is an object deserving the greatest Attention & should vary according to the nature of the soil, - the degree of progress that has been made in its Improvement - the Extent of the Ground, Waste, & Arable - the Age & Abilities of the Tenant - & whether you may not have use for it yourself to answer any part of your Police - In a word no general Rule can be laid down as to the duration of a tack. In England that

differs in almost every County - long leases are very rare - Sir Rowland Wynn has not one lease on all his estate - neither has Lady Littleton's father - In Bedfordshire they seldom or never have above 15 or 19 years.

Lord Findlater obliges all his tenants to whom he grants new leases, to inclose, within the duration of them, all their Farms with a hedge & Turf-Dyke, & Ditch, of certain Dimensions. This is an excellent Institution & should be carefully followed, & attended to.

When a person sells an estate, all the Tacks that he has granted & which are not expired, are good & valid to the tacksmen, unless the Purchaser insist with the seller to purge them, that is, to compound with the tenants for renouncing them immediately, but this is seldom done.

Great Judgement and discretion should be used in exacting Grassum or in raising Augmentations of rent - they ought not to be the same over all the tenants of a Parish, or corner of it in proportion to their old Rent, for the soil & Improvements differ in almost every farm. Hear and mark down all the different offers of the candidates & then judge for yourself.

What they call Rouping of tacks, or setting them up to Auction is generally disapproved of, tho' practis'd by the Dutchess of Gordon & others - On such occasions persons make higher offers than they are able ever to fulfill - hence the tenants become Bankrupts - you are call'd an Oppressor if you sue them at Law, & distress them for you rents - & in the meantime the Grounds of the Farm have been very probably abused in cultivation, when the tenant saw he could not hold the farm during the years of his Tack, he endeavoured to make as much of it as he could, without any regard to his successor - and if this is the case, you must remitt the old rent to the next tenant - Such a conduct also hurts one's character in the Country - it smells of Oppression - substantial men will not chuse to be tenants to such a master - & lie waste in your hands.

The Tack always mentions the rent that is to be paid for the Farm - payable to the Master himself & his heirs or assignees or to his Factor - The terms are also mentioned at which all the different Articles of the Rent are payable, as money, meal, bear, customs.

As the prices of Meal & Bear vary, there can be no Conversion mentioned in the Tack for those - but when the tenant fails in paying what they call the ipsa corpora of the meal & the Bear, he holds a court & gets the dificients decerned in paying the current prices of the year, in which he should mix mercy with jusatice if his tenants are not otherwise substantial, for one bad year may compleatly ruin a tenant, whereas if he is gently dealt with, he will recover, & do well. This you aught to do out of a principle of Humanity, for in general you need not expect gratitude from tenants, for that or the like favours - Their Education is narrow, & their Principles of the like contracted dimensions, - & every tenant thinks his master exacts too much Rent of him, & therefore is generally on the watch to be even with his master.

I think every tenant should be obliged by his Tack to lime every so many years acres of his ground - & to sow turnips or potatoes in another certain quantity - If those things were done in but 20 or 30 instances, the practice would soon become universal - This Obligation might be taken of new tenants under certain penalties, & to those that have long leases, premiums might be given to tempt them - The Chamberlain or Greeve should be ordered to attend to the Execution of these Orders.

In every Tack, as in every Agreement, there is, or ought to be a penalty, in the event of either party's not fulfilling his or their part - this is a forcible & weighty Argument for a faithful performance.

Verbal Tacks are valid only for one year.

If the tenant fail to pay his rent at the terms stipulated, you put the Tack into the Register at Edinr. & thereafter you get Letters of Horning, & other securities by Law - but in general a master needs never lose by his tenants, because the Law provides him in the Hypotheque, that is in one year's Rent preferably to all other Creditors - so that if he obliges his tenants to pay once a year he runs little Risque.

In order to prevent oppression & turning out of tenants improperly, the Law appoints, that 40 days before the term of Whitsunday at which the tenant ought to remove, the master by his Chamberlain & Officers must warn him to remove himself, family, & all effects (but his corns on the ground) from his farm at that term - This warning must be executed both publickly at the Parish Church where the lands be, on a Sunday, & by another Warning to himself at his dwelling house, & on the lands of his Farm. - After this if he dares to remain he is call'd a violent possessor, & the master upon sueing him at Law generally makes him repent it very heartily. The Law allows to the Master as much money as it is computed he could have made by the Farm, & likewise repay of his expenses & trouble in the pursuit. But the Master must attend to give this Warning, otherways many tenants will take the advantage, & continue whether you will or not, & the tenant so continuing is not obliged to pay more than he did during the years of the Tack - this is called Facit Relocation, or a supposed mutual agreement between Master & tenant, that the later shall remain on the fixt terms.

In Banffshire & many other parts of the Lowlands the tenants besides their common rents of Victual & Money pay also the Land-tax - & no part of the Minister or schoolmaster's Stipend, nor any part of the support of the Church or Schoolhouse.

In Strathspey it is quite otherways Now I think this ought to be an object of Attention, and a comparison should be made, which of the two is highest, & which of the two the tenants esteem the greatest hardship - the people in Urquhart who pay the Church think its dues higher than those of the King.

I should think it were a good Article to prescribe to the tenants how much of his Lands he is yearly to till, & how much to leave in grass & fallow - this would be for the tenants own advantage & the Factor or Grieve should see to the execution of this - it would also prevent the tenants spoiling the ground thro' malice or ignorance.

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Appendix XXV.

Things deserving Mr. Grants attention, when he goes to Strathspey.
William Lorimer, 1763.

From Lord Findlater & Lord Deskford

p.117

5. Rather allow one Tack or a few more tacks contiguous to one anyr. to run out for a year or two, than lett them too soon, before all in a neighbourhood expire together - your letting little tacks cuts in upon greater ones, & deranges your general plan.

Lord Findlater observed this scheme lately in a wide corner of his Estate by which he raised the rents £50 Sterling a year.

p.118

6. Never enter into terms, about a new lease of a farm, untill you have carefully perused the old tack or lease - from thence you may discover many mistakes - & when the new tack is made out, compare it yourself, at best all the Reddenda or Tack dutys. Things to the Master's prejudice are often foisted in by Chamberlains & Clerks.

There's an Instance of this in Burnsidies Tack granted last year - & many like instances in Strathspey.

p.119

10. In all your tacks let this be a clause, reserving power to yourself to lett to any person whatever all lands or Commonty that is not cultivated after a certain number of years - if the tenant cultivate the same, & pay for it, let him be preferr'd.

11. Lord Findlater in Rothes is following Sir Ludovick's Plan of setting Improvements.

His Lordship does not advise Mr. Grant to initiate in Strathspey his system of giving long leases - he desires him to be very cautious in letting Leases at all, till he know the value & extent of his lands.

p.120

12. Lord Findlater is an enemy to rousing Tacks.

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Appendix XXVI.

Things deserving Mr. Grants attention, when he goes to Strathspey.
William Lorimer, 1763.

Observations on Tacks or Leases

p.37 Sir Ludovick in his Tacks mentions the Grassum he receives - that it may be a Rule to him how much he shall receive at next letting.

Lord Findlater takes no notice of the Grassum in the Tack, as he does not desire that every person that may see the tack, should know the Grassum - & besides, Grassums must rise or fall according as tenants offer & as times & the value of Land alter - Mr. Grant may mark in his Great Rental what Grassum he receives at every letting.

Lord Findlater has many Irritancies in his Tacks, or things which if not perform'd the Tack is void - this keeps the tenants to their Duty, & saves many a Law-suit.

Irritancies, Burning or stealing Wood, Moorburn.

Casting meadow ground.

If the Customs & Rents are not pd 3 months after they are due,

Personal residence on the farm.

Subletting or assigning without Heretor's Consent.

Not intimating Incroachments by neighbouring Heretors.

Garthing without Authority of Heretor.

p.39 All Tacks should be on Stamp Paper, & 2 copies of each one for the Heretor the other for the tenant, & as they are frequently produced in Courts, they ought to be very exact.

p.40 In making calculations whether grassums or Augmentations are of most value it may be computed that £20 of Grassum valuing the money at 5% is equal to 40 shillings of £2 of yearly Addition, as it is so much interest in case of Annuities so cheap & therefore £20 Grassum is not so good as 40 shillings Augmentation in Rent.

Sir Ja. Colquhoun reduced all his rents to be paid at Martinmas in which he finds great advantage, & it was a hardship on the tenants only for one year.

He secludes Assignees & subtenants in all his Tacks - a most necessary clause.

He binds the tenants to attend his Baron Court & obey the Acts of the same.

p.41 Tacks must be drawn up with great Exactness 'Tis the nature of tenants to be willing to take advantages of their Landlords - therefore guard agt. that - for when you have a Law-plea with a tenant before the Court of Session, the tack will be produced, &

the presumption of oppression will be against the Landlord. For want of this exactness Bellimore at one time, & the Minr. of Cromdale at another, brought themselves into scrapes of £30 Sterling each - tho' no oppression was proved - My Lord Findlater's factors have no Law-suits with tenants.

I believe your tenants have now not only timber for their Houses, Gratis, but also for ploughs, harrowes, & all labouring utensils - Both these to be restrained if not entirely destroyed.

Formerly the Laird let to the tenant in his tack, Grassings & sheallings, as well as the Lands of the farm - You must now explain this, lest you deprive yourself of the power of letting any Improvements - Lord Deskford says, He allows the tenant to improve so much of the hill or common every year, which if the tenant fail to do, My Lord reserves power to himself to let it to anoyr, In the late Tacks Sir Ludovick has not mentioned grassings or sheelings.

- p.42 It is reckon'd impolitick to grant new tacks till the old ones are within a year or two of Expiry - Granting them sooner is walking in the dark as to futurity - it may deprive you of many advantages & Improvements you can't forsee at the distance of 5 or 6 years - This is a general rule with regard to new tenants - perhaps it may be proper sometimes to grant a prorogatn to the tenant himself if he is a good one - it will encourage him to begin his improvements the sooner when he knows he's to have a renewal.

When a tenant knows 5 or 6 years before that he is certainly to leave his Tack at the Expiration, it makes him neglect cultivation & perhaps destroy the Lands in odium of the succeeding tenant.

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Appendix XXVII.

Notes - William Lorimer, 1763.

...All houses on a farm are supposed to be the landlords, if the tenant has no vouchers to the contrary. - Therefore there is always a Clause or Article in any Tack about Houses sometimes declaring what is the value of those houses - which are made over to the tenant by inventory and Apprising - and it is declared that if he makes those houses worse, he is to repay the Dammage - & very often the Master allows him to build a new house, or to meliorate or improve his old ones to a certain fixt extent, & no further. Too many and valuable houses on a Farm may prove a drawback on letting it, if the incoming tenant must pay for them - Some Masters lay out a certain sum on houses to their tenants & oblige their tenants to pay them yearly therefore 7½ per cent - Discretion and judgement should be used in this - Humanity teaches that tenants should live in comfortable warm houses, & good Policy tells us that turf-houses, which time might be much better employed in ploughing their Land, or making Dunghills: Besides in Strathspey where the Master gives a present to the tenant of all the wood he uses for his houses, the oftener those houses are pull'd down, it destroys so much more of the Laird's timber - an object well deserving your attention...

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Appendix XXVIII.

Tack twixt James Grant, Esq. and Patrick Grant for Polcreach, 1769.

It is Contracted and agreed betwixt James Grant Esqr. of Grant Heritable Proprietor of the Lands and others aftermentioned on the one part And Patrick Grant son to John Grant Tenant in Callinder on the other part in manner following. THAT IS TO SAY, the said James Grant HAS SETT and by these presents in Tack and Assedation Letts to the said Patrick Grant and his heirs secluding subtenants Executors and assignees ALL and HAILL the Auchtenpart Lands of Polcreach, with the houses, Biggings yards & pertinents thereto belonging as presently possessed by himself and the said John Grant his father, lying in the Parish of Cromdale and shire of Murray And that for the space of Nineteen years from and after the term of Whitsunday one thousand seven hundred ns sixty nine years, which is declared to be his entry thereto in virtue hereof, But always upon the Conditions and with the Reservations aftermentioned, First, that one fourth part of the arable Lands hereby set shall not be broken up or laboured during the last three years of this lease, Secondly, that he shall break up and labour all the improvable ground belonging to the said possession on or before the end of the first five years of this tack, otherwise that the said James Grant shall have full power to set the same to and person he shall think proper, And also to appropriate for his own use such part of the uncultivated Ground as he shall think necessary for the purpose of inclosing, planting, or straightening the Marches And to make Highways or roads through any part of the said farm that shall be thought necessary, And all without any diminution of the Rent after specified. Thirdly, that he shall fallow one acre of Ground yearly And sow one acre with turnips Potatoes Pease or Lintseed Fourthly, that neither he, his servants nor cottars shall distill or vend Usquebaugh or any other spiritous Liquours, or brew or sell ale without Licence from the said James Grant or his heirs, And that he shall not allow his bestial or cattle to pasture upon his neighbour's Grounds or common pasture at any season of the year. And Fifthly that he shall obey and fulfill all the Regulations and Orders of the Justices of Peace and Baron Baillie for regulating Servants and for keeping peace and good order in the Country, And further as an encouragement to the said Patrick Grant to inclose the said farm, he shall be paid at his removal by the incoming tenant Five shillings sterling for every Thirty six Elms in length of stone Dyke that shall be built and in sufficient repair at the expiry of this lease providing such stone Dykes be four feet high and covered with two gang of feal. With and under which Conditions and Reservations the said James Grant binds and obliges him and his heirs to warrand these presents at all hands as Law will For the which Causes and on the other part the said Patrick Grant binds and obliges him and his heirs Executors and Successors whatever to pay the said James Grant his heirs or Assignees a yearly Tack Duty of seven pounds fifteen shillings sterling Beginning the first terms payment at Martinmas one thousand seven hundred and seventy years for the year preceeding And so furth at the term of Martinmas yearly during the Currency hereof, As also to deliver One boll Muture Meal yearly betwixt Yule and Candlemas, Or in the said James Grants option to pay Ten shillings

sterling in lieu thereof, beginning the first terms delivery or payment at Martinmas 1770 and so furth yearly during the present Lease, and to deliver in the month of May yearly two good and sufficient three year old wedders under the wool, or five shillings sterling for each wedder, when they are not demanded, beginning the first terms delivery in May 1769 And eight hens yearly when called for or four shillings Scots for each hen when not called for, But in case the wedders are not delivered in the month of May yearly, or the Hens not delivered when called for the said Patrick Grant obliges him and his forsaid to pay seven shillings and six pence sterling for each wedder and six shillings Scots for each hen And that within one month after the time of Delivery And likewise to carry sixteen stone weight yearly to Castle Grant from Keith Elgin Banff Inverness or any other place of equal distance, Or in the said James Grant's option to pay five shillings sterling in lieu thereof And he obliges him and his forsaid to free and relieve the said James Grant & his heirs during the Currency hereof of Ministers stipends Schoolmasters salaries Augmentation of both And reparation and building of Kirks Manses and schoolhouses with the Ground Officer and Moss Grieve Dues And to grind all his grindable Grain at the Miln of Tulchen and perform all services thereat usual and necessary And also to uphold and maintain the whole houses and Bigging upon the said farm in a sufficient and tenantable condition during the Currency hereof and leave them so at his removal therefrom And in case the houses are in a worse condition at his removal than at his entry he shall be entitled to receive from the incoming tenant Melioration not exceeding One years money rent, And lastly the said Patrick Grant binds and obliges him and his foresaid at the Expiration hereof to flit and remove from the haill premises without the necessity of any warning or process of removing to be used against him for that effect And agrees that the said James Grant and his foresaid shall then enter into possession thereof without using any formality whatever. And both Parties oblige tham and their foresaid to implement and fulfill the haill premises to each other under the penalty of twenty pounds sterling over and above performance.

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Appendix XXIX.

Abstract Rental of the Right Honourable The Earl of Findlater and Seafields Estates, Cropt and year 1790.

Money rent	
Conversion of Mill Multure	
Teind Silver	
Vicarage	
Service Money	
Feu duties in Rothies	
Stipend Money	
Meal @ 11/6	
Bear @ 13/6	
Oats @ 11/6	
Lids @ 5/-	
Wheat @ 20/-	
Cess	
Oats @ (5 Fir. to the Boll) 13/6	
Victual @ 13/6	
Stipend Meal @ 11/6	
Stipend Bear @ 13/6	
Meal for converted Multure @ 11/6	
Peats @ 1/8 per foot.	
Swine @ 16/8	
Wedders @ 5/3	
Lambs @ 2/3	
Capons @ 6d.	
Hens @ 4d.	
Poultry @ 2d.	
Stones of Tallow @ 6/8	
Lime @ 6d.	
Stones of Butter @ 6/8	
Dozen of eggs @ 1½ per 14	
Reek Hens	
Windlings of straw	471
Days labour of a man & horse	2
Reapers in Harvest	8
Carriages to Cullen	52
Expresses to Cullen	2
Days service of horses if required	2

Appendix XXX.

Notes. William Lorimer, 1763

The Customs Payable on Estates vary in different places, those that are generally paid are:

1st Wedders, which if not paid, are in Strathspey converted at 6 shill. sterl. or the highest price of the Country for the time.

2ndly Lambs, their Conversion is 2 shill. or half a crown.

Both wedders & Lambs must be under wool & are therefore payable to the Heretor in June or thereabouts.

3rdly Hens & Capons, the hens are converted at 3 pence or 4 pence, the Capons at 6 pence, each.

4thly Swine, which are seldom paid by any tenants but those of mills where Hogs are fed on Brann.

5 Poultry, which are converted at 2 pence each.

The hens, Capons & Poultry are payable at any time the mistress of the family, or Lady calls for them - In some countries, they are called Cane-Fowls.

Besides those larger quantities of cane-fowls, in most Countries each tenant & subtenant pays a Reek hen, for every house that reeks or smokes on the Farm.

6 Leet-Peats, of which each tenant pays a quarter, a half, or a whole Leet, more or less, according to agreement - In some Countries the heretor digs & dries the Peats, & the tenants only draw them to the Mansion-house, in other places the tenants dig, dry, & draw them, & put them up as in Strathspey.

A Leet is an arbitrary measure, differing in different places - In Strathspey it is 12 feet long, by 12 feet broad & 12 feet high: Lord Findlater has now converted all his Leet-peats into money - he found they took up a great deal of the tenants time which may be better employed in tilling their land, & with this money his Lordship can buy coals more to his advantage.

All tenants pay services of one kind or other, such as carrying so many loads to certain places, working so many days with a certain number of men & horses, etc., etc.

Some Masters are very oppressive in exacting services & before the Rebellion 1745 Masters were not confin'd to any certain Quantity or number of services, which were then shamefully called Bondage, but imposed as many as they pleased on their tenants - But since were taken away, every Tack must narrate what services a Landlord can exact from his tenant - And tho' humanity were out of the Question, yet out of Policy, a Master should be mild in exacting Services, for those

divert the tenants from a due cultivation of their Farms. When a Master lives at a distance from his Estate he converts the services into money; the price is computed by the number of men, horses etc. he used to give his master, or as other tenants in the neighbourhood pay.

GD 248/38/1/20

Appendix XXXI.

Things deserving Mr. Grants attention, when he goes to Strathspey.
William Lorimer, 1763.

- p.5 According to the present system,
Each Eightenpart pays yearly
2 Carriage-horses or £6 Scots for each.
2 horses every 3 months to carry Lime, Stones, Slate or Timber,
or £1:10:- for each.
2 Shearers in harvest or 12 shillings Scots for each.

Sir Ludovick has now determined, that whatever other Grassum or
Augmentation shall be agreed upon in a new Tack each Eightenpart
shall pay of addition yearly 2 wedders, or £3 Scots for each
8 hens, or 4 pence for each.

Those wedders and hens if imposed on all the estate would be an
addition of £300 Sterl. a year.

- p.6 Formerly there were many different kinds of Customs paid to the
family, but as Sir James was a widower & generally at London, he
converted them all about 30 years ago into money - When Sir ludovick
came to live at Castle Grant, he found great Inconveniences from this,
& could not get either mutton or fowls for his table, therefore about
6 years ago he made every tenant taking a new tack to pay him wedders
& hens.

- p.7 Prices or Conversion of Customs

	<u>Scots</u>
A Hen at	£0:4:-
A Sheep or wedder under wool	3:-:-
A Kid or lamb	1:10:-
A Swine	12:-:-
A Leet of Peats	6:13:4

Each of these conversions should be double, if the customs &
Services are demanded & not paid - This makes the tenants pay
regularly.

A boll of meal weighing 8 stone is generally computed worth £5:6:8
A boll of Bear £6:6:-
A boll of Meal at 9 stone £6:-:-

The leat peats & customs are very unequally imposed all over the
estate - this should be remedied.

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Appendix XXXII.

Note of the Long Car[riage]s payable in the Parish of Duthil
by the late setts for the year 1772.

All the long Cars. of the old tacks to be likewise sent for coals to Forres.

<u>8n pts.</u>		<u>Stones</u>
1	Robt. Grant, Kinveachy in E.Duthil	16
3	Jas. Cum. & Donald Cameron there	48
2	Don. Dingwall & Pat Dallas, Delgrainish	32
5	Auchterblair	pd.80
4	Alex. Grant, Achosnich	64
5	Kinchurdy	80
5	The 5 Avilochan tenants	80
1	Lagganleaghoun	16
1	John Cummine, Kinveachie	16
½	David Grant there	8
1	John Grant there	16
1½	Duncan Grant, forrester	24
1½	Donald Cummine, Deshair	24
2	John Grant there	32
1½	John Muggach there	24
¾	Mary Grant there	12
¾	Seton Grant there	12
1½	James Grant Glass there	24
½	Murdo Mcpherson there	8
3	Docharn	24
2	Don. Cumming, Lethendry Chul	32
2	Lethendry Veol	32
½	Lewis Grant, Inchluim	8
½	Jean Grant, Inchtomach	8
2	Will. Grant, Forregin	32
5	Delrachnynmore tenants	80
1	Don. McKenzie, Lochnahully	16
2	John Ross, Delbuiack	32
½	Ellach	8
1	John McBain in Ardochie	16
2	Upper-Mid Gellovies	32
2	Easter Gellovy, Capt. Lud. Grant	32
2	Tullochgribanbegg	32
1	Shillochan, Robt. McGregor	16
	payable for the year 1772	1016 stones
	paid thereof	240
	April 27 1772 remain unpaid	<u>776</u>

GD 248/533

Appendix XXXIII.

Grantown Farmers Club.

April 5th, 1787

The following Gentlemen desirous of improving themselves in Agriculture and thinking that a communication of sentiments upon that subject may tend very much to the end proposed, agree to institute a Farmers Club at Grantown to meet four times in the year and for that purpose to hold their first meeting at Mr. Falconer's, vintner in Grantown, on Friday the twenty seventh day of April Curr. by 12 O'Clock with the view of forming such regulations as may be thought admisable for the club in future.

Sir James Grant approves very much of the scheme and desires he may be named as a member.

James Grant.

Lud. Grant, Culnakyle
Alex. Grant
James McGregor
John Grant, Kinchirdy
Patrick Grant, Duthil
Alex. Forbes, Curr
James Grant, Lettoch
James Grant, Birchfield
Alex. Huston, Grantown
Philip Grant, Kirktown
Alex. Carmichael, Revack
Ja. Falconer

GD 248/537/4/19

Appendix XXXIV.

Hints Submitted to the [Elgin Farmers] Club by the Earl of Fife.
7 April 1783

That the Club in Expenche should be regularly fixed, so as not to make it inconvenient for worthy and usefull members of it to give their attendance.

The meeting should differ from many other Clubs that meet only for Gossoping and dissipation, this meeting doing themselves credit by their regularity, and a perfect attention to promote every Improvement in industry and agriculture.

To endeavour to get a few proper books to aid the good intentions of the society.

To raise a fund for giving small premiums as creditable marks of the farmers merit.-

To encourage the manufacturing of proper utensils ploughs, carriages etc.

To encourage the breed of cattle, to recommend more the use of oxen, which is often serviceable and beneficial kept with less expence and risk than horses and after years of service may be fed and disposed to advantage.

To recommend inclosing, and the most exact winter herding, cultivating winter crops and grass seed, with attention in getting proper seed of different grain.

To preserve woods which will in time be the support of farming and the certain supply of cheap and easy fencing.

To keep roads in good repair.

To discourage all litigation amongst Moray Farmers, differences to be settled in arbitration to friends, submission to certain members of the Club, or by their Landlord who if he has common sense must be their disinterested and zealous friend.

That the Club should recommend Industrious and meritorious Farmers to their Landlords, stating in their recommendations their reasons for granting it.

[Included with Regulations of Elgin Farmers Society sent to James Grant, the Strathspey clerk, 21 April 1787.]

GD 248/351/2

Appendix XXXV.

Badenoch & Strathspey Farming Society.

[The society was formed under the patronage of Jane Maxwell, Duchess of Gordon at Pitmain, 27 October 1803.]

A number of the subscribers to the Badenoch and Strathspey Farming Society, instituted under the patronage of her Grace the Duchess of Gordon, having met here this day for the first time by appointment, in order to give instructions for the general direction of the society in the future, as might seem best adapted to promote the useful purposes intended by the association, the following list of managers with the secretary were named by her Grace to continue in office till the - day of September 1804:

The Hon. Archibald Fraser of Lovat
Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet
J.P. Grant, Esq. of Rothiemurchus
William Macintosh of Balnespick
James Macpherson, Esq., of Dallaville
Colonel Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, and
Lieut.-Col. George Gordon of Invertrony
to be managers.
The Rev. John Anderson in Kingussie to be secretary.

And there being present at the time three of the managers named, Rothiemurchus, Cluny and Dallaville, together with the secretary, they deliberated on the rules and institutions proper to be settled for the society; and the following, with the approbation of all the subscribers present, were agreed to:

1. That an original subscription of one guinea, with an annual subscription of five shillings should constitute a member and entitle him to vote at all meetings to be held on the the business of the society.

2. That every member who has subscribed, is to be held as continuing liable for his annual subscription till he gives intimation in writing to the secretary that he is to withdraw his name.

3. That afterwards there shall be only for managers or directors, three of whom are to go out by rotation annually and three new ones to be elected in their place by the majority of members attending at the General Meeting to be held on - day of September.

The Secretary to be chosen annually in the same manner.

4. That those going out by rotation shall not be capable of being re-elected for the year following.

5. That four of the directors now named shall go out by ballot.

6. That the Secretary shall keep a book entitled "Minutes of the Badenoch and Strathspey Farming Society," in which all their procedure

shall be regularly engrossed; and a list of all the members with the sums subscribed by them inserted.

7. That the General Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held either at Pitmain or in the village of Kingussie on the Monday se'night immediately preceeding Sept. Falkirk tryst.

8. That besides this the directors shall hold four quarterly meetings at Pitmain - one on the first Monday of every quarter - at which all the members may attend who find it convenient.

Thereafter the directors having consulted with the members who were present, it was unanimously resolved that the following premiums should be distributed for the encouragement of agriculture and industry in the district for the ensuing year -

1.	For the best bull <u>bred</u> in Badenoch or Strathspey two years old and upwards	£8	8	0
	For the best bull exhibited having been one year in possession of the owner	5	5	0
2.	For the three best tups, three years old, bred in Badenoch and Strathspey	5	5	0
	For the three best tups of the same age exhibited having been used the season before	4	4	0
3.	To the best ploughman being a native of Badenoch or Strathspey; on a comparative trial	3	3	0
	To the second best ditto	2	2	0
	To the best ploughman not a native	2	2	0
4.	To the tenant in Badenoch or Strathspey not paying more than £25 of yearly rent who shall grow the greatest quantity of lint to be weighed from the skutches on half a Scotch acre of land.	3	3	0
5.	To the tenant as above who shall raise the best crop of sown grass, clover and rye grass on half an acre of land	3	3	0
6.	To the tenant as above who shall have the best crop of turnips on a Scotch acre of Land	5	5	0
7.	To the tenant as above for the best crop of turnips upon half a Scotch acre	2	2	0
8.	To the proprietor or Tacksman in Badenoch or Strathspey who shall have the best crop of turnips on any quantity of land - no less than four Scotch acres - a piece of plate valued	10	10	0
9.	To the person in Badenoch or Strathspey who shall produce a spindle of the best and finest linen yarn spun by herself - a medal of the value of two guineas or a medal of same value	2	2	0
	To the second best	1	1	0
10.	To the person as above who shall produce a spindle of the best woollen yarn spun by herself from natural wool - Two guineas or a medal of same value	2	2	0
	To the second best	1	1	0
11.	To the person in Badenoch or Strathspey who shall exhibit the best web of plaidon made by herself from natural wool, the quantity not less than 40			

Yards, $\frac{1}{2}$ wide	3	3	0
12. To the person in Badenoch or Strathspey who shall make the handsomest Highland plaid - 2 guineas or a medal of the same value	2	2	0
13. To the girl under 16 years of age in the above district who shall shew the finest and best wrought pair of stockings made from natural wool	1	1	0
For the second best		10	6
For the third best		7	6
14. And by particular desire of the Duchess of Gordon there will be given to the boy or girl who shall read the Gaelic language best and translate English into Gaelic with the greatest facility -a premium of	1	1	0

Thereafter it was suggested, and the opinion adopted, that a copy of this minute containing the institutions of the society be transmitted to the Hon. Mr. Fraser of Lovat to be printed at Inverness with a request that he will send copies to all the directors and to such persons as he may think proper for promoting the useful ends the Society have in view.

It was also moved and resolved that the secretary be ordered to make out lists of the subscribers specifying the sums subscribed by each, and that a copy of said list be sent to her Grace the Duchess of Gordon, and to each of the directors to be shown to such of their friends and acquaintances as may incline to assist and co-operate with the society in their exertions to encourage industry in this district of the Highlands.

At the first quarterly meeting to be held at Pitmain on Monday the 2nd January, 1804, and of which due intimation will be given to all the directors and members residing at the time in the district, the manner of publishing the premiums to be given by advertisement in the different parish churches, and of ascertaining eventually, who shall be found entitled to them is to be fixed; there not being leisure at present to detail this minute and subordinate regulations that may be found necessary, not only to establish a fair competition but to give all the competitors equal and impartial justice.

Dr. John Malcolm Bulloch, 'Badenoch and Strathspey Farming Society,' Transactions of the Banffshire Field Club, 1931, 126-130.

Appendix XXXVI.

April 19th 1766

The journal of what has been doing here from the 14th to this 19th Curt. both Inclusive, is the following - All the Barn servants, horses & cattle & some day-labourers assisting them, very busy plowing harrowing & laying the seed in the ground & I hope again the end of next week that all the oats will be almost sown. We have had a few of the tenants horses every day this week in at harrowing. This week has been pretty fresh & open but we have had, most part of it, cold high blowing winds & this day has been very rainy & still continues All the neighbouring hills being this day covered with snow. The Cairngorm hills are still clad with snow, all the freshness & thaw we have had not leaving the due impression on them as yet, consequently the air in this country must be cold & a very great Draw-back upon the growth & vegetation of everything here as being situated so near them.

This week we have had eight day-labourers, of which two assisting the Barn servants at the plows & sowing, two taking stones off the land & taking home some peats bought from James Huston tonight, two working at the Casscrom on the upper end of Auchtomore & two with James Huston the gardiner at the planting. There are a number of hands upon task work at the levelling & making the access from the west on the north-front - John Huston & his men employed in the garden & sowing garden seeds. James Huston his father & some of the gardeners & day-labourers planting thorns etc. James Huston the wright & his men employed thus, some made out the roofing of the Byres, & stair in the new milk houses making windows for the camp room & plumbing the sidewalls of the parlour for the lathing & several other odd jobs about the Town.

John Clark & his men thus, so many of them building the pillars of the gate at Milntown, others raising up the southend of the Bridge of Curr and the rest at the stone dyke below Cottartown - Ogilvy & Stitchall going on with the dyke of Clashindunan - Thos. Smith planting the Moor of Grantown - James Dallas going on with the stone dyke of Miss Grant's garden - William Sinclair going on with the trenching thereof and James Smith & his men with the fail Dyke of the Park.

This day got the last of 3000 fine birch plants from Tulchan which are to be planted out next week - This evening came here from Fort George so many of the trees commissioned for this place in Decr. last from Edinr. the rest will be sent for beginning of this week but its thought a great many of them are lost as they have been now so long out of the ground.

By accounts just received there are at Keith between 4 & 500,000 fir plants commissioned for from Monymusk & Mr. May Land surveyor but the tenants horses are so weak by the labouring & scarcity of provender & so very backward always in performing the carriages readily, that for fear of the plants spoiling we will be obliged to order them here by hirers from Keith.

GD 248/178/2

James Grant

Appendix XXXVII.

Rotation of Crops proposed for the Farm of Castle Grant.

Lots	Contents	1810	1811	1812	1813
1.Upper & lower Uchkumore & Dallas Park	16. 2. 0	fallow/ green crop	barley/ oats	hay	hay
2.The House Park & Old Grantown Park	17. 1. 3	oats	fallow/ green crop	Barley/ oats	hay
3.Large field of Garthkeen	19. 2. 21	oats	oats	fallow/ green crop	barley/ oats
4.The Cuila- Chastaile	19. 1. 13	pasture	oats	oats	fallow/ green crop
5.The Park at the Lime kiln, & the Park to the south of the Black Wood	20. 1. 3	pasture	pasture	oats	oats
6.The Balleward Park & Lower Lurgan including pt. of the Black Wood proposed to be improved - say 5 acres.	19. 2. 33	hay	pasture	pasture	oats
7.The three fields to the north east of the upper garden	18. 1. 5	hay	hay	pasture	pasture
8.The Croft McRobert	15. 0. 24	Barley/ oats	hay	hay	pasture

GD 248/714/1

Appendix XXXVIII.

Accompt of the Oats & Bear sowed at Castle Grant, Culnakyle & the West Port for Crop 1789.

	B:F:P
To oats sowed at Castle Grant from the 4th of Aprill	
to the 5th of may including 10 Bolls of the Mongomry oats	34:0:0
To Bear at do. from the 8th of May to the 16th Do.	6:0:0
To oats sowed at the Port in the above time	7:0:2
To oats sowed at Cullnakyle from the 7th of Aprill to the	
2nd of May including 9 bolls of the Mongomry oats	27:2:0
To pease sowed at cullnakyle the seed bought of	
Mr. McGregor at 16/- the boll	4:1:0
To potatoes planted at Castle Grant	4:0:2
Bolls	83:0:0

There is betwixt 8 & 9 acres of ground at Castle Grant that will have gote their 2nd ffurrow for turnip and about 6 acres at Cullnakyle that will have gote their 2 ffurrows this week for turnip.

Grass seeds sowed for crop 1789 at Castle Grant & the Port.

	<u>£</u>	<u>sh.</u>	<u>d.</u>
To 162 lib. reed clover at 6 the lib.	4	7	9
To 158 lib. white Do. @ 8½ the lib.	5	11	11
To 40 lib. of rib grass @ 4½ the lib.		15	
To English Ry grass 12 Bushalls @ 3/9 the Bushall	2	5	
To 6 ffirlots of Scots Ry grass at 3/- the ffirlot		18	
To 30 ffirlots Scots Rye grass from Mr. Cumming of			
Altyre at 3/- the ffirlot this I think is the quantity			
from Altyre but he sent me no note with it	4	10	
	£18	7	8

The above grass seed is sowed on about 23 acres of ground with 6 ffirlots of Altyres Rye grass that was left since the last year.

GD 248/63/1

Appendix XXXIX.

Notice to all & sundry Sir James Grant's tenants within his Estate of Strathspey.

June 1786

That all such in the Parishes of Cromdale, Inverallen, Duthel and Abernethy who will lyme what they can of their grounds this year shall at paying their first rents be entitled to an allowance of two pence sterling for each boll or four firlots lyme which they shall lay upon their grounds before Martinmas next which allowance will be given them at the payment of their first rent And as lyming the ground will be of the utmost advantage to themselves it will also be most agreeable to the proprietor and he will reckon himself obliged to all who shall be entitled to the premium of two pence per boll now offered. It is therefore expected that his tenants of these Parishes will immediately set about casting and winning peats for the purpose of burning lime. If any shall be at a loss as to the manner & in what proportion to lay on the Lyme let them apply to his factor & he will direct them.

GD 248/356/3

Appendix XL.

Note of sheep sold at Castle Grant, June 15th 1776.

To John Lawson in Achnagaln 17 ewes & 17 lambs @ 5/9	4	17	9
To James Grant, clerk, Grantown 12 ewes & a ram @ 4/4	2	16	4
To Do. 11 wedder hogs @ 4/7	2	10	5
To Alex. Riach in Cromdell 22 ewe hogs @ 5/1	5	11	10
To Mr. Forbes Milntown 20 wedders @ 7/-	7	0	0
To James Grant, clerk 20 wedders @ 5/6	5	10	0
To Do. 20 wedders @ 7/1	7	1	8
To Will. Morison, Derraid 20 wedders @ 7/2	7	3	4
To James Grant 20 wedders @ 7/-	7	0	0
To Wil. Fraser, Cottartown 25 wedders @ 5/8	7	1	8
	£56	13	0

GD 248/52/3/96

Appendix XLI.

Letter: William Forbes to Sir James Grant of Grant.

Honble Sir,

In order to sett the letter wrote by Mr. McGregor and signed by him and me in the light I saw it at that time he told me that you intended not to brake up any of the grounds laid down with grass, but to let them remain in grass; and to buy in the tenants cattle for the eatting the grass are to take them in at so much each head in order to eat the grass & to secure your rents and to make a more clear proffit on the ffarm by the reducing the labouring servants & cattle. There is two great objections against this plan the ffirst is that in three years you will have no hay to cutt for when the ffields are properly cleared of the natural grass & weeds by the turnip cropt its as much as they can bear to be cutt for three years in hay & two year pasture after the hay they turn in to a yellow ffoge & the sown grass wears out so that they are in a proper state for braking up again in order to renew them for cropts of Hay.

The other objection that as I have now begun the liming and braking up the Garkeen which has been heather much neglected and at this time it yields but little grass, but I hope if its carried on with the lime it will give both grass & corns, I think before the end of May to have 1000 bolls of lime on it but if the servants and working cattle are reduced the liming must go on very slowly. Ffrom the above its my humble opinion that the ffarm in the tillage way should be carried to the ffull extent that it is at present and your breeding cattle quite given up only what ones you may want for the use of the ffamily when at Castle Grant this will leave grass betwixt the Dunan and Castle Grant I think for 100 or 120 of the tenants cattle either to be bought in or grassed as shall be ffound most convenient and I think by this the ffarm will turn out more proffitable than in any other way. The following short state will make this a little more clear:-

The whole expense of laying down the cropt 1779 at Castle Grant and the Kirktown of Inverallen including the rent of both, seed, cutting the hay, winning & stacking; cutting the corns & stacking them in and the rent of the lime kills in grass with the ffull expense of all uttensalls etc. The meal & wages of 4 servants to maintaining seven horses for corn & hay and allowing £20 St. for an overseer of the whole place the amount is - £287. 0. 3½

The value of the crop 1779 to witt the corns & the straw, the hay turnips pottatoes & the grass eat by the cows at a low price the amount of the return is - £390. 12. 0

From which subtract the expence as above 287. 0. 3½
This is the proffet on the ffarm in the
way of tillage and the grass at a low
price. £103. 11. 8½

The following is the charge and expence of the cattle for the year 1779. The summer grass & the winter provender with the expence of herding the Bowman - uphold in the Derry for salt & utensills including a Cow to Alexr. Fraser and a cow to James Gray and the stoned houses with 18 head of cattle of the Clerk's grassed for four mounth at the Lime Kills in whole £260. 19. 0

The whole return from the above cattle in butter & cheese with the sell of 10 head of them and allowing 15/- for each of there calves being 26 is whole and allowing £15 Ster. for there Dung

98. 11. 0

Loss by the cattle

£162. 8. 0

By this state you see that there is the great expence on the farm in this place in particular when provender in the winter is very scarce. You may have a particular state of the above sent your [factor] and Clerk if you desire it.

GD 248/228/1

Appendix XLII.

The Petition and Representation of John Grant in Easter Auchnaconalin.
1765

Humbly sheweth,

That your Petitioner's possession of Auchnaconalin is so branching out in several small pieces of Arable land and at such distance each from another, that it is quite impracticable to preserve the corns growing thereon from being eaten and destroyed by cattle which insensibly run thereto thoroe the birch woods of Auchnaconalin with which every individual piece or part of the land is wholly surrounded; And as all possessors within your Honour's Estate are now prohibited from garthing any part of their land with either fir, birch, or aller Branches with which they were in use to inclose, and fence their arable ground, which must be acknowledged was very hurtfull to the Growth of such wood, particullarly when not cutt in the method and way of wideing wood; It is necessary that possessors of such lands do their endeavour to fence and inclose their corn land with stone dykes where access can be had to stones, Yet it is not in the power of every possessor to build stone and feal dykes nor yet inclose their lands by ditching without the proper allowance be given them by the Heritor for their Expence payable either at the expiration of their tacks ar at their removal, and far less in the power of your petitioner in particular whose land is so aspersed in many several branches as above represented, and of consequence must requirre many hundred yeards of both dyking and ditching to inclose it, and consequently will likeways require some years to finish the said Inclosure, by any private possessor or by any person who has no idle money to lay out for such purposes, yet notwithstanding your petitioner upon the proper allowance to be paid either at the Expiration of his tack or at his removal shall endeavour to inclose his said possession in as few years as possible, with this provision, that he shall be allowed to fence some small spots of the corn-land with the wideings of some particular bushes of the Birch woods of Auchnaconalin that your petitioner upon marking out to him some certain bushes of said wood by your Honour's order granted to persons of skill of such wood to be wided by your petitioner that he shall bind and oblige himself that in the course of very few years these bushes in few years shall prove ten degrees more prosperous and thriveing than they now are. This your petitioner shall bind for under any penalty and the wideings of such bushes, will be of service to your petitioner untill he has his stone and feal dykes and ditching brought to a period.

GD 248/483/4

Appendix XLIII.

Letter: William Forbes to Sir James Grant of Grant, 10 November 1777

200 Hunder Elles of it Done I hope to have a good deall of it ready for hedging this spring if its agreeable to you I will take by what thorn I may want & plant them at my own Expence & Keep them clean During my lease if you will allow the value of the Hedge by men Mutually chosen at the end of my lease only you must when the hedge is planted put a fflaiking of ffence Barrs to preserve the hedges with fflaiking I will uphold on your allowing me wood for the same till the hedges is out of Danger of Cattle. I think in this way hedging of Dykes would become more generall & take very little money out of your poket & would Incurrage the tenants that Incloses with sunk fences to plant & preserve hedges - there interest would be in keeping them well as they would be the more valuable at the end of there Leases...

GD 248/55/1

Appendix XLIV.

Sandy Taylor's planes opinion & valuation of the lands of Tullochgriban, 1771.

The Lands of Tullochgriban & Draught thereof from No.1 to No.25 both inclusive, contain viz:

	acres	r.	f.	
arable land	93	3	20	
grass ground	34	1	37	
moor	158	0	9	
moss	<u>133</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>16</u>	
	419	2	2	valued at £49.19.10

From No.26 to No.43 both inclusive viz:

arable land	59	3	32	
grass ground	44	3	18	
moor	<u>30</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>38</u>	
	135	1	8	valued at £32.13.2
				£82.13.0

Keanloch Impt. not included in the above is valued at 3
£85.13.0

The lands of Tullochgriban and Keanloch to pay Minister's stipends & building of kirks etc. over and above the above estimate.

Remarks

The Lands of Tullochgriban are in general of a deep, rich loamy soil, specially the fields lying next to Dulnan side. They are fit with proper management and culture to bear almost any kind of crop; the only disadvantage they labour under, is, that Dulnan floods the lower grounds in speats, which sometimes hurts the grass by leaving sand amongst it, besides that the ground is soured by the stagnation of the water after the flood is gone, for want of proper drainers to carry it off; it is my humble opinion that this inconvenience could be entirely removed by the following method viz. by making a dyke along the water side upon the height of the bank, which is for ordinary about 24 or 30 ells off from the brink of the water. This dyke ought to begin a little above the place where the water begins to flood the banks, and be at least 6 feet broad at the bottom, and turn'd round in form of a semicircle on the top, all made of earth cover'd with feal & their greenside uppermost which when grown together will resist any force that the water can have there, as there will be a considerable space betwixt the low water & the dyke.- The highest part of the dyke will not require to be above 3½ feet high and in many places not 1½, this will defend the Dulnan side, but the burn that comes past Clury's Auchnahannet to the Mill of Muckerach will fall in upon the northside, to remedy which, there should be made a strait ditch, from Tullochgriban's garden till it fall into said burn a little above the Miln of Muckerach, this ditch ought to be 10 or 12 ft. broad at least, and the earth thrown out of the ditch, to be form'd into the same kind of a dyke [on the south side of the ditch] as that along Dulnan side. Which if done the lowest parts of the farm would never be flooded

either by the water or the burn. The low grounds would require some cross drainers, which ought to be made so as to discharge themselves into this great drainer, and as their only use would be to carry off the rain water, that the ground might not have too much moisture, they would not need to be above 18 inches deep, and 2 or 2½ feet broad at the top, but no dykes upon their banks. And in order that the flood from the outside may not run up these small drainers, there ought to be wooden sluices at their junction with the great drainer, in shape like a fish cruive, that would shut of themselves, in the increase of a flood, by the pressure of the water from without, and in the decrease, that the water which gathered into the small drainers, might set them open again by its weight behind, if this was done the low grounds would be by far the most valuable part of the farm.

The whole expence of both dykes & ditches would not exceed £50 or £60 Sterl. Saughs might be planted in the dykes, which would afford some cover to the ground & their root would make a sure and lasting dyke.

This farm has also a command of water by taking a lead out of Dulnan a little above the march betwixt the two intended farms.

The Improvement of Coillnamoule etc. is not included in the within estimate.

GD 248/508/2

Appendix XLV.

Letter: John Williams to James Grant of Grant, 20 November 1769

Sir,

I view'd the Nethy at Culnakyle Wednesday & this day, & find the river is in such a bad condition, that if it is not attended to as soon as possible, the farm of Culnakyle is in a fair way to be quite destroyed. In my opinion the farm cannot be properly secured, without excessive expence, unless the river be turn'd out of the present course where the English took off the water for their saw-mill, & continued to the west side of the present course till it comes in about 50 or 60 yds. below the wooden Bullwark. This new cut should be carried in a strait line; about 60 feet broad, but it need not be deep; only when stones or roots appear they must be taken out, to deepen the channel. This course will secure the house, & the easter part of the fields, & turn all the water west side the little island, which place must be widen'd a little to give room in a spait, or it will drive down trees & stones, & so choak below. At the foot of the island back of the house, there should be a great deal of heavy roots, and useless brush wood put in the easter bank, to prevent the force of the water coming back of the island from breaking thro' there; & a little below that, the course must be inclin'd a little west, & some roots & gravel thrown into the east side, as I shew'd Mr. Grant there.

At the top of the new run cut by Sir Ludovick, there must be made a slight bulwark of brush or branches of wood, with the tops leaning down the water, mixed with roots, & covered with fale, gravel, or earth; but the tops must be left out which will break the force of the water.

Sir Ludovick's new cut must be greatly widen'd as there is not room for near half the water of a spait. Some little corners should be taken off at the foot of this cut, to straiten the course, & the roots, sticks, stones etc., should everywhere be drawn out of the propper channel to the weak. I shew'd Mr. Grant there what I would have done to each place, who can explain these hints to you upon the spot, & if what I direct be properly done, I am confident it will answer. Mr. Grant sais, if it was once put in proper repair, he would keep it so at his own expence; & really if it is not repair'd soon, you may make it a present of that farm, which is a very fine one.

A hooked trident, with a long shaft, like a spear shaft, would be very useful to keep the river in repair. With it they can in , or after a spait, hook & draw out roots, sticks, & stones, or loosen the gravel where it is going to settle in a wrong place & let it go with the water. Drawing out the roots & sticks is of great consequence to keep it in repair, much of the mischief done in such a river, is occasion'd by roots & trees sticking in the course & gravel etc., gathering about them, make the channel in time higher than the ground about it. If I am near when they are doing it, I shall be glad to give my advice & assistance.

GD 248/485/1

Appendix XLVI.

Measurement & Value of the Embankment of Tullochgorm.

22nd June 1809

	ells	height	per ell	£.	s.	d.
1st	60	3ft.4½ins.	1/3	3	15	0
2	90	3	1/-	4	10	0
3	180	5	2/-	18	0	0
4	100	3	1/-	5	0	0
5	300	4	1/8	20	0	0
6	60	3ft.9ins.	1/4	3	10	0
7	100	5ft.3ins.	2/1½	10	12	0
8	100	5	2/-	10	0	0
9	200	6	2/6	25	0	0
10	<u>373</u>	5ft.6ins.	2/3	<u>33</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>
	1563 ells			134	2	6

Little Banks 452 ells 3½ height, 1/4 £29.12.8

136 2ft.8ins. 9d. 5.2

34 14 8
168 17 2

Angus McPherson

John Robertson

GD 248/451/6

Appendix XLVII.

Inventory of the Stocking and Effects on the possession of Clury delivered over to Sir James Grant of Grant, Bart., 24 September 1806.

Cattle.

4	working oxen
2	3 year old stots rising 4
15	Milk cows
11	1, rising two years old
14	calves
<u>1</u>	4 year old handsome bull
58	

Horses.

2 Bay working mares, one 6 the other 8 year old

30 bolls white oats at 5 firlots to the boll.

1300 or 1400 hundred stones of hay besides this years hay in the corn yard - 1000 stones (only - owing to drought)

Rental of the tenants of Clury and Milnton of Muckerach.

Wm. Clerk, Drynach	£15. 8.4	inc. propn. of Glentarroch
G.Cruickshank, 8n pt. Croftdow	16. 8.1	" " "
James McIntosh, Croftjames	13. 8.½	" " "
John McIntosh, Torrispardon	10. 8.1½	" " "
Wm. McIntosh, Croftnahaven	17. 8.1½	" " "
James Grant, ½, 8n pt. M. of Muckerach	14. 1.2½	" " "
Peter Grant, ½, 8n pt. M. of Muckerach	14. 1.2½	" " "
Malcolm Grant, miller	5. 0.0	
Wm. Fraser, undermiller	<u>2. 6.0</u>	
	108.18.5½	

The tenants cast, win and lead a leet of peats 12 feet every way and the Eightenpart of Milton furnishes a leet and a half besides cutting 40 threaves corn each 8n pt. assisting in bringing up the corn from the haugh and a small carriage in course when required...

2 long carriages

2 hands for 2 days

4 hens all except Torrisparden

Torrisparden	1 carriage
	3 hands for 1 day
	3 hens

There are cottagers at Belnaan who pay:-

Ann pays for her house yearly	10s.
and generally in work	
Isabell McDonald	10

Janet Taylor	10
Margaret Clerk being inferior	7
Alex. Fraser for a house, croft and cows grass	£2.-
	£3.17

Tennants settled only verbally by George Grant of Clury for 11 years. Each has a 7 part of Glentarroch for grass & hill pasture.

Amount of Dykes

sunk fences faced with stone	5079
common double dykes	514
The old park dyke, double and uncommonly stoney	1087
The garden dyke, part very high & of stone & lime	400
	7080 yards

12 gates & 24 pillars

Acres under crop this year

30 acres sowed with oats
 4 acres sowed with bear
 9 acres under potatoes & turnips
 4 acres fallow
 18 acres under 1,2, & 3 crops of grass
 6 acres under the fourth crop of ditto
 The rest of the haugh all in grass.

Betwixt 20 & 30 acres have been brought in from wood & moor and 6200 Bolls Lime laid on since the improvements except what the buildings required. About half a million of trees of all kinds planted and all in a thriving condition.

---0---

24 September 1806

Memoir about Clury

...The farm is in general in good order and seems to have been managed and cropped very judiciously - the mode of cropping for the ensuing year was pointed out to the grieve who approved of it and seems to understand it very well.

Some of the fields have not been limed, but should now be limed - there is an old limekiln on the farm which may contain & produce about from 300-400 bolls of lime - it should be repaired - and it is proposed to build a smaller one also that may produce about 100 bolls at a filling - the large one could be wrought occasionally but the smaller would be most convenient for common use.

The haugh of Clury on the water of Dulnan containing greatly more than 100 acres of fine lying land is very subject to the overflow of the river and part of it is marshy and wet - were this extensive and beautiful field embanked and drained under the direction of a skillfull person versed in these things it would increase the value of the farm to a great degree.- There are also adjoining to this haugh a

great many acres of dry land above the flow of the water, which have been partly laboured, but now out of tillage and overgrown with heath which if limed and laboured & sown with grass seeds would produce good pasture for cattle and add considerably to the value of the farm...

GD 248/707/1

Appendix XLVIII.

Report and Measurement of Improvements on Dell of Abernethy,
by George McWilliam, Land Surveyor, 1843.

Report on Improvements made on Dell of Abernethy by the late Mr. Forsyth.

On going to the Dell & comparing the Old Plan with the ground, I found it necessary to make a new measurement of the whole Farm, and by comparing it with the Old Plan of 1812 I find there has been Improved and under Crop (as per annexed statement) in whole 39 acres 2 roods & 24 falls Scotch in addition to the old arable and of ground trenched but not yet cleared of stones 3 roods & 28 falls.

The Improvements in general are very poor soil, part of them so much so, that they are not worth cultivating, & therefore cannot be considered deserving of the allowance, or in accordance with the rule laid down for Improvements.

I find there is improved above the houses in different places and now cultivated in with the old Arable 7 acres 2 roods & 1 fall: the different fields, which otherwise would have looked ill, & was an obstruction in labouring, but now makes the land close, & may be considered worth the allowance.

There is improved adjoining the office house and to the south thereof a range along the west side of the old arable part which is pretty fair, but with various patches through it, very poor, but when taken as a whole, & considering its situation so near the steading, it may be considered worth the allowance, viz:

being No.8	0.1.20
and No.9, 10 & pt. of No. 5	<u>11.2.38</u>
In all	11.3.18

The Improvement in Ellanbreck No.11 containing 4 acres 0 roods 36 falls is gravelly & very worthless, having been an old channel of the River & not worth cultivating, & has not been in crop for sometime, & would not pay for seed & labour, & cannot be considered worth the allowance.

No.12,13,14 & 15 containing 13 acres 2 roods & 3 falls lying on both sides of the road to Dell, is altogether very worthless ground, So much so, that it would not pay for seed & labour, & in consequence is not worth cultivating, and of little or any value in grass; it is so poor, as not to produce a sward or to retain it & not worth the interest on £5 per acre.

The part No.16 on the north side is of rather better quality & may be considered worth the allowance, & contains 2 ac. 1 rd. & 6 falls.

The executing of the Improvements I have no doubt has been attended with an expense which would have warranted the allowance

being given had the subject been such as to warrant the outlay; but it cannot be considered of advantage to the property to pay for improving ground that is not worth cultivating or being kept in cultivation. It would have been well had the late Mr. Forsyth obtained the sanction of the district factor as is generally done in the other districts, as to the ground being worth the allowance for improvement before he had gone into such an extent.

According to the above Report the extent considered deserving of the allowance is as follows.-

First situated within the old arable	7.2. 1
No.8 behind the office houses	0.1.20
No.9,10 & pt. of No.5 lying south of	11.2.38
And No.16 on the North side	<u>2.1. 6</u>
	21.3.25

Making in all twenty one acres, three roods and twenty five falls Scotch.

The part improved and not considered worth the allowance being:

No.11	4.0.36
No.12,13,14 & 15	<u>13.2. 3</u>
	17.2.39

Making in all seventeen acres two roods and thirty nine falls Scotch.

[signed] Geo. McWilliam

Sheriffston 5th Decr. 1843.

GD 248/490

Appendix XLIX.

Memorandum.

of some suggestions made by A.McBean tenant of Auchterblair which he wishes to be taken into consideration on entering a new lease of his possession, by John Fraser, Esqr., Cullen House and the factor of Strathspey, and expressed in a letter sent Mr. Fraser and shown to the factor at the time and was as follows:

1st As regarded the outpasture enjoyed by his, and neighbouring possessions in common, that each might have a more exclusive share of it (which I understand is now done).

2nd. It was requested that a trusty and practical agriculturalist would be appointed by the factor or Mr. Fraser to examine the quality of the meadows already brought partially under cultivation by me in order to ascertain if the subject of these improvements will be of advantage to Proprietor & tenant to have such continued.

3rd To have the old Meadow arable land inspected (betwixt the river & Shillichan) to consider what mode of Draining should be adopted to advantage, as without much outlay in draining, a great part of it is not worth cultivating - But having a declivity parrallel to the river and also from the river towards Shillichan it is capable of being drained and so overrun with rushes and course grass that cattle will not eat and untill drained limed and again brought under tillage the soil is properly pulverised, it will not yield grass that will be profitable for rearing cattle.

The purpost of the above observations are to show that extensive improvements are necessary on this farm, and according to the Rules & Regulations of the Strathspey property (the Blue Book) It is requisite that the tenant have the sanction and approbation of the proprietor or his factor to such to entitle him to receive the allowed remuneration for his outlay, should he not remain so long in possession as to reap the benefit of it.

GD 248/821

Appendix L.

Commonly, 1867.

[Farm	acres]	
W.Achvochkie		
Garvault	1371.500	@ 4½d./acre
E.Shennach		
W.Shennach		
Aird of Dalvey		
Aldenin	1286.000	
E.Rynaballich		
W.Rynaballich	1415.000	
Corshellach		
Cragganmore	609.000	
Upper Drum		
Lower Drum	2107.190	
E.Mains of Brown		
W.Mains of Brown	504.220	
Curr		
Middleton	471.105	
Balmenach		
E.Tulloch		
Chappelton	130.000	
Culachy		
Tunteery		
Tomnagowan		
Inchdruim		
Aandaroch	918.620	
Delbog		
Mains of Tulloch		
Ruecallich		
Lynamer		
Croft of Tulloch	1492.150	
Topperfettle No.1		
No.2	53.780	
Mid Foregin		
E.Foregin		
Lyne Airdrie	1171.110	
W.Dreggie		

E.Dreggie	
W.Gorton	
E.Gorton	
Achosnich	1188.375
Lagg	
Ochtogorm	30.655
Toregorm	
Tombain	
U.Derraid No.1	
No.2	840.270
E.Lettoch	
W.Lettoch	
E.Culquoichmore	1110.560
Knockanbuie	
Culquoichbeg	2187.860
Knocktulchan	
Culdorrachbeg	
Delyorn	
Culdorachmore	1001.750
Callendar	
Polcreach	
Balnacruie	
Balvattan	871.700
Lochan Ellan	
Uig	307.980
N.Inchtomach	
W.Foregin	<u>746.470</u>
[Total	19815.295]

GD 248/3363

Appendix LI.

List of Sheep Farmers in Duthel on Moors of Carr Bridge.
[T.Bass, 12 December 1849]

		No.of sheep	Rent
Duncan McIntosh	Eille	240	£24
Alex. Cameron	Aitenlia	200	12
Alex. Watson	Ellanuan	60	5
Peter McIntosh	Eiten	600	24
Miss Grant	Kinchirdy		
	for Allan	700	24
W.McGregor	Inverlaidnan	800	120
Peter Grant	Inchluin	60	16
P.Cumming	Beannach	200	50
Donald Grant	Lyfail	60	6
Robert Grant	Delrachnie	60	30
Donald McGregor	Slock	40	5
Wm. Grant	W.Slock	120	12
Samuel Cameron	Slock	20	12
Wm. Grant Senr.	Slock	60	12
Philip McKenzie	Slock	60	12
John McGregor	Slock	150	6
Peter Grant	Inchtomach	200	18
James Grant	Forgin	150	30
James Robertson	Forgin	120	24
Iachlan McQueen	Forgin	120	24
Alex. Cumming	Forgin	40	6
John Rose	Rymachack	150	8
Dunc. McBain	Garuchar	200	6
Dugald McQueen	Achtatiper	200	30
Peter Grant	Rychraggan	30	5
Wm. Grant	Rynreich	90	8
Duncan Grant	Loitranick	100	10
Donald Grant	Achnahate	80	12
Donald McKenzie	Achnahate	80	12
Donald McDonald	Achnahate	150	12
John Grant	Achnahate	150	20
James McDonald	Kinloch	40	8
Alex. McDonald	Tullochgrb.	60	12
Donald Cumming	Tullochgrb.	20	12
Wm. Smith	Balnafeetack	80	12
Alex. Mackenzie	Burn of D[uthill]	80	6
Duncan Grant	Burn of D[uthill]	60	12
William Cameron	Badnagatich	20	3
William Grant	Lynder	5	40
John Grant	Lochgorm	30	3
James Grant	Balnastraid	100	18
Alex. McGillavray	Deshar	100	16
Alex. McGregor	Dochlaggie	100	18
Hugh McGillavray	Deshar	80	16
Duncan McGegor	Drummullie	60	18
William Grant	Lynchurn	30	400

Duncan Grant	Balnafoch	100	16
George Urquhart	Gartenbeg	100	50
John Urquhart	Drummullie	60	24
Alex. McQueen	Gellovie	150	50
Peter Grant	Gellovie	80	24
James Grant	Gellovie	100	24
Robert Cumming	Mullochard	300	150
John Cameron	Shillochan	100	24
W. McBain	Aughterblair	260	120
Duncan Cameron & Co.	Carr	90	12
Donald Cameron	Carr	80	6
John Grant	Carr	80	6
Peter Cumming	Lethindy	200	40
James Nairn	Lethindy	200	40

GD 248/489

Appendix LII.

Abstract of enclosed Report on damage done to farms in Strathspey by late floods & state of deductions of rent. 19 December, 1829.

Amount of abatements Crop 1829 recommended on Lord Seafield's Estate	£248.14. 4
Do. of permanent abatements recommended on Do.	174.11. 8
Do. of abatements Crop 1829 recommended on Honble. Col. Grant's Estate	16. 0. 0
Do. of permanent abatements recommended on Do.	6. 0. 0
Permanent abatements Lord Seafield	£174.11. 8
Do. Do. Honble. Col. Grant	6. 0. 0
	£180.11. 8
which if valued at 30 years purchase would amount to	£5417.10. 0
add deduction for crop 1829	264.14. 4
	5682. 4. 4
Supposed expense of repairing embankments from say	500. 0. 0
	6182. 4. 4
Calculated loss in Strathspey exclusive of loss of private bridges destroyed & of timber carried off which perhaps may be taken as equal to	600. 0. 0
	£6782. 4. 4

GD 248/826

Appendix LIII.

To be sold of the wood of Abernethy, the property of James Grant, Esq., of Grant.

Twenty thousand full-grown FIR-TREES. more or less as purchasers incline, a great number of which trees will measure three feet diameter and upwards, and the whole are fit for deals pumps and pipes of three, four and five inch bores. There will be set at the same time for the convenience of those who may purchase the wood, a LARGE FARM, good either for Corn or Grass, and mostly inclosed, as also a SAW-MILN and BORING-MILN already furnished, with every article for working them, and there is a saw-miller, who understands sawing and boring extremely well. Both said milns are built close to one another upon the water of Nethy, near to the said woods, and within an English mile of the river Spey; which river timber may be floated on an easy charge to Garmouth (a sea port town). There are roads from most parts of the woods to the milns, and from thence to Spey-side. Those who incline to purchase the wood, and to manufacture the same, may depend on having all reasonable encouragement and allowances, and for further particulars they are desired to apply to the proprietor at Castle Grant, to Mr. Robert Grant writer to the Signet at Edinburgh, and to James Grant at Culna-kyle, overseer of the woods of Strathspey, and who will show the woods.

N.B. There are presently to be sold by the said James Grant overseer, and to be delivered at Culna-kyle on Speyside, one thousand feet of pipes bored of three and four inch bores, of excellent fir-timber.

Aberdeen Journal, 7 March 1768.

Appendix LVI.

Letter: Ludovick Grant to James Grant, 24 August 1772.

re Alex. Cumming's Wood Contract which he terminated at
Whitsunday last after 2 years.

Estimated Account.

13332 Trees being the two first years compliment	£1055.11. 1
<u>251</u> Trees at 19d. each	19.16. 7
13583	
803 logs at 1/6 each	<u>60. 4. 6</u>
	£1134.12. 2
128 wynd fallen Trees at 19d. each	14. 1.10

In respect the company have cut the best & easiest
manufactured part of the wood, and relinquished
their contract so soon, they cannot expect you to
pass from the £200 penalty which is far short of
making up your loss.

200
£1348.14. 0

GD 248/348

Appendix LV.

Edinburgh Advertiser, 8 & 15 September 1789.

Sale of fir wood, Strathspey. Several thousand trees for Deals and spars of the woods at Abernethy, all natural growth, of excellent quality, and contiguous to the banks of the River Spey, are to be sold betwixt now and martinmas; and sawmills and farms necessary for manufacturing the same, to be set to the purchaser along with the woods. Entry on Whitsunday 1790, proposal to Sir James Grant at Castle Grant or his factor at Belleville.

Appendix LVI.

Inventory of Fir timber received from Duthil at Inverness from 27th
Aug. 1826 to 26th Aug. 1827 inclusive.

4 dozen 2"x 10ft. planking
9 doz. 6 12ft. sarking
302 doz. 5 10ft. sarking
39 doz. 3 12ft. slabs
489 doz. 10 10ft. slabs
213 doz. 1 8ft. slabs
2 doz. $\frac{3}{4}$ "x12ft. deals
58 doz. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ "x10ft. deals
14 doz. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ "x12ft. deals
50 doz. $\frac{1}{2}$ "x10ft. deals

1182 dozens - £114.18.2 $\frac{1}{2}$ carriage

GD 248/420

Appendix LVII.

Report by Mr. Cumming after surveying the Woods of Glenchairnich [Dulnain Valley] Sept[ember] 23. 1762...

In the Wood of Duglaght near, or above, Whiteraw's, there's a large quantity of good wood fit for manufacturing principally for Deals, but it will do for any other use whatever.

After you pass that Wood, there's a quarter of a Mile of waste Ground, then you enter the Garvauld which is the most extensive part of the Wood of Glenchairnich, being about 2 miles long - not very broad- it lies on the side of the Dulnan - the trees nearest the Water are extremely good, and fit for manufacturing.

...More than three fourths of the Wood of Glenchairnich is young Wood - And tho' cutting young Woods by the Lump is a wrong measure, yet in every Wood there some trees that will never become of the best Kind, and therefore it may be very proper to cut them down.- Good trees are those that are straight, neat, high, fresh at the top, and green branches - these ought to be spared - Others that are crooked, deform'd, decay'd in the top, and of an ugly unnatural Colour, are bad, and will not grow higher, these may with propriety be cut down for spars.- or may do for Servitude-Uses.

In Glenchairnich there is great variety of sizes of trees, now fit for manufacturing, into Boards, Deals, Spars, Jests, and lies very convenient for floating - It is a growing Wood, and will not be exhausted, if it is preserved from fire, and the Trees to be manufactured, properly chosen.

...In a few years the Low-Country Planting will be sold lower than the highland Timber, but the latter will be still of more Value, as planted Timber is not good for so many uses, and in itself is not so good by one fourth or one third as the natural Wood it is much more brittle, and worse coloured; Carpenters seldom choose it.

...Mr.Cumming is of Opinion, that in order to have the proper Advantages of the Woods of Glenchairnich, Mr. Grant ought to build a Mill, which may cost from 10 to 15 £ Sterling - By this to manufacture the Trees into Deals, and float the Deals down Dulnan and Spey to Garmouth, where they will sell in greater quantities and for better price than in, or near, the Woods - To sell a few trees in the Wood once a year to the tenants, or the neighbourhood, would bring in but a trifle of money, altogether; nor would the Timber in Trees sell to such a Value, as when sawn into Deals. Judgement must be used to preserve yearly in and near to the Woods what quantity of Spars or Deals the tenants will buy.

...After mature Deliberation Mr. Cumming thinks the lower part or Situation opposite to the Castle of Muckrach will be the best part for erecting the mill, because the wood of Duglaght is far from the upper old Situation and would be very expensive to bring it up to the Mill...

Cut the Trees in March and April, and have them ready within floodmark of the River waiting the Spring-Speats, that they may come down to the Mill.

Two Cutters in the Wood are sufficient- perhaps the two Servants that attend the work or Draught-horses might cut in Spring - They fell the Trees with Axes, but after they are thrown down on their sides, take a Cross-cut Saw and cut them in proper lengths, - Care must be taken in cross-cutting them - Crooked trees must be cut into long sizes, and make Deals of them.

...The Sawmill should have two Frames, for the more Speedy Execution, both going at the same time, if there is water enough, one for Deals, and the other for Slabs.

The Overseer points out to the Cutters or hewers what trees are fit for being cut down.

The Sawmiller has a half-penny allowed him every Draught - he therefore on his own Account will keep a regular List of what he saws - by this list he delivers them every Saturday to the Overseer, and gets his Receipt - The Overseer must account for them by this List to the Proprietor - The Overseer delivers them to the floaters at the Conflux of Dulnan and Spey - and the floaters must deliver them by number to the man at Garmouth The Sawmiller has no Allowance for the two draughts, by which he makes the Backs and Slabs, only for the Deals.

The Floaters have a half penny for floating each Deal or Spar.

All the Timber carried from the Wood or Mill, whether Deals or Loggs must be mark'd with the Proprietor's Stamp, and any Timber found without Stamp is stolen Wood.

Mr. Wood at Perth advises to send to Mr. Sandeman a young man to learn the art of sawing Timber - The dressing or fitting up of the Saws is a very difficult and nice Affair - The old Saw-mills were too coarse and of too great a thickness, which occasioned a great waste of Wood.

When the Wood is floated down to Garmouth or Fochabers, let a proclamation be made that on such a-day there is to be a Sale of Wood - and let the Overseer be there that day or two following days - and what is not sold then, let it be secur'd again in some house.

The Overseer should have in the Woods two proper hands that can hew well and saw well - There are some trees that are too large for Sparrs, therefore put them into the Sawpit and saw them in the middle lengthways, which will fetch more money, than by selling the tree single for Spars and Jests - They are paid by their Work from March to Martinmas - when all Woods and Mills are stopt - In Braemar there is no sale in Winter - but there is in Aboyn.

The Cutters and hewers are paid by the number of Loggs, allowing 6 score to the hundred.

Mr. Grant must take care not to raise the price of his Woods too suddenly - he must always sell his Deals and Spars at least a half penny or a penny below the merchants that deal in foreign timber.

Before a Cargo of Deals is floated down, the Overseer should go down the Country to Keith, Fochabers etc. and find out the current prices there, and try to make a Bargain with a Wholesale Dealer, or a Wright for a small or large Parcel - he should ask a Wright how such and such pieces of Timber are sold.

He should also enquire what would be the Expence of carrying Deals to Engl[an]d or the south of Scotl[an]d.

Stop giving Wood gratis to the tenants, by degrees - begin with the Subtenants - And when any principal tenant asks good Timber - tell him you will serve him with Slabs, Backs etc.

So long as Stealing continues the price of Wood will not rise - A little Reasoning might convince tenants that even Stealingwood empoverishes them - they must use so many Arts, and take so much time in concealing and carrying on their Villainy, that they leave no time for their farming, from whence alone their true Riches must arise.

Mr. Grant should invite Wrights and Carpenters of all kinds to come and settle near his Woods and Mosses - his Situation is the most convenient in the World for them - there are many such near the Woods of Glentanner.

In selling Wood the Overseer should beware not to allow the tenants to choose their own trees - they will choose for their own or Country uses fine trees that ought to be sawn into Boards.

James Grant the Clerk thinks there has been of late too much fine Wood in Abernethy sold to the tenants - it would have brought in more money to have saw'd it. - He persists in the Opinion that Sir Ludovick made profit by his sending Boards and Deals to New Castle.

If Mr. Grant persist in the Scheme of building his new Town I should think a Timber-Merchant there would make good Bread and in all probability many Carpenters, Turners and wheelwrights would settle there.

...A Mill properly supplied with Water, and a good Season, may manufacture from 8 to 10,000 Deals - exclusive of Slabs and Backs - These Deals at 9d. each, if sold at Garmouth, would amount to £370 Sterl. and Mr. Cumming thinks that the whole Expence of cutting, dragging, sawing, floating, and maintaining Serv[an]ts and horses would amount to £100 - This charge might be well nigh indemnified by the Sale of the Slabs and Backs.

To work a Mill properly there must be 4 horses to drag the Trees, that is, the very great Trees, but 2 horses would do in general, using 2 in the morning and 2 in the afternoon to relieve one another alternately - If the horses were well kept there would be no

use for Oxen - and only 2 Servants are necessary.

...To have the Woods properly cared for, you must have one man as a Forrester, and one man to take care of the Marking-Axe which must by all means be provided, - and a third man, as an Overseer - The Marking Axe should be in the Overseers Custody till the marking-day, which is commonly two days a-week, when you sell to the Country.

Persons employ'd about your Woods ought to have no other Employment or Avocation; for secondary Employments (alias By-Jobs) are generally prefer'd to the principal Business; and when you have Woods to float, cut, sell, manufacture, or dispose of, you Servants will make this and the other Excuse till their own Job is done, and pretend that the day you wanted them was not a proper one - By this means the Season is entirely lost. - No man can serve two Masters.

A Spar is commonly sold in Strathspey at a penny the foot - which is the price in Glentanner.

In Glentanner A Deal between 8 and 12 Inches broad is currently sold at 9 pence, being 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Inch thick, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ foot long.

Slab Deals from 10 pence to 18d.

Backs from 2d. to 6d.

Flaik Barrs at 1d.

Deals at Garmouth of 10 inches and 10 feet long sell for 10d. and of 12 feet for 1 shilling each.

In Strathspey there is as much Wood destroy'd in building Walls of houses, as might serve a whole Nation.

Stone-Walls would do much better.

Wood for flaiks should be saw'd not clefted, -one piece of Wood clefted in two might be sawn into three pieces.

...In Glenchairnich they have a most absurd and laborious way of sawing Trees - they put the tree on its End, with a very little Slaunt, and then draw the Saw thro' it, by which all the Work must be perform'd by mere Strength, whereas if they would saw in a Saw pit, the weight of the Saw passing downwards is much easier for the men, and cuts more timber...

GD 248/657

Appendix LVIII.

To James Grant of Grant - 1765 - Proposals for preserving the Birch Woods in Strathspey.

Shewing

1st That it is necessary if possible, to stope or recall all services on Birch Woods, as it is so scarce in the country that if all the gentlemen and tenants have their Demands out of the said Woods, it will be impossible for them ever to come to any hight, but rather diminish as they are both thin and young.

2nd That all those who pretend to have the said services specified in their Tacks, aught, after obtaining orders from Mr. Grant of Grant to shew the same to the overseer with their order.

3dly That all persons obtaining orders for any Wood should give the overseer an exact account of the wood they want, and the several uses they want it for, and they aught likewise to swear before the Baron Baillie at their Parish Courts, that they did not demand any wood but what they had real and immediate use for, and that they did not sell or dispose of any part whatsoever of it, otherwise than what their Lists or Receipts mentioned.

4thy The overseer aught to have a List of the persons names and places of abroad, that are appointed by Mr. Grant to look after any part of his woods, with Instructions how to act in respect to them, and Informers, as well as the persons informed of.

James Grant leaves to consideration, whether it would not be more advantagious to put the Law now in being, in force and oblige every person to be answerable for any abuse of wood growing on their possessions.

The Managers ought to be allowed if Mr. Grant thought proper, to fix certain days twice in the year to serve each parish, either with Firr, or Birch Woods; by being obliged to go to any corner of the country to serve every person that may obtain an order - This may be done without giving Mr. Grant any additional trouble, by giving the tenants notice of the same, that they may procure their orders from him at his pleasure and keeping them untill they receive notice of the particular days, by intimation at the Church door.

GD 248/178/2

Appendix LIX.

List of the Woods of Birch, Oak & Alder in Strathspey, & the names of the tenants who are to have the charge of each wood.

Woods in Tulchen consisting of Birch, Oak & Alder committed to the care of James Garnt son to Donald Grant in Port, now in Delcroy.

Woods in Culquhoich-more, Birch & Oak, committed to William dunbar in Laglea.

Woods in Dareraid, Birch & Oak committed to the care of John Lawson in Gartkinnon.

Woods in Clashdunan, Birch & Oak committed to said Donald Grant & John Grant his brother.

Woods in Dalvey, not sold, committed to David Stuart in Belnellan.

Woods in Advie, Birch committed to James Gordon in Runrorie.

Woods in Camriach, Birch committed to Alexr. Grant tenant in Camriach.

Woods in Dalley, Birch & Alder, Donald Grant tenant in Dalley.

Woods in Lethendy, Birch & Alder, David Grant in Easter Lethendy.

Woods in Glenbeg Dreggie & Gortown, Birch, Donald Cruickshank in Gortown.

Woods in Coillentran, Birch, John Grant in Coillentra.

Woods in Craggan, Birch, John Grant McArthur in Craggan.

Woods in Kirktown of Inverallan, Birch, John & Patrick Grant in Kirktown.

Woods in Clurie, Birch-woods, James Grant of Clurie Esqr.

Woods in Auchnaghonalin, Birch, John & Patrick Grant tenants there.

Woods of Connage, Birch, John Stuart in Connage.

Woods in Conghass, Birch.

Woods of Rothiemoon, & Culnakyle, Alder & Birch, Peter Grant in Cullievullin.

Woods of Tulloch.

Woods of Clachack & Lurg, Alder, John Grant of Lurg.

Woods of Dell, Alder, Ludovick Grant of Lettoch.

Woods of Dell & Lettoch, Alder " "

Woods of Glenlochrie & Glenbruin, Alders & Birch, Patrick Grant of Comlehall.

Woods of Kinvaichie & Lochen, Birch, Robt. Grant of Kinvaichie & Alex. McPherson in Laganteghowan.

Woods of Docharn, Birch, John Grant of Docharn.

Woods of Lethenty, Birch, Duncan Grant, forrester & Donald Cummine.

Woods of Aviemore betwixt Sluggangrainish & Knockgrainish, Birch, Donald Grant in Sluggangrainish.

Woods of Bulladern, Birch, Alex. Grant of Bulladern.

Woods of Kinchirdie, Birch & Alder on Speyside, Mrs. Grant of Kinchirdy.

Woods of Gartenbeg, Birch, Lauchlan Grant of Gartenbeg.

Woods of Tullochgorum, Birch, George Grant of Tullochgorm.

Woods of Milltown of Duthel, Birch & Alder, Sueton Grant of Millton.

Woods of Mullochard, Birch & Alder, James Grant of Mullochard.

Woods of Auchterblair, Alders, Robt. Grant of Auchterblair.

Woods of Easter & Wester Duthel, Alders, Alexr. Grant in W. Duthel & John Grant of Whitra.

Woods of Delnahaitnich & Bienenach, Alder, John Grant of Whitraw & Alex. Calder tenant in Delnahaitnich.

Woods of Inverlaidnan, Birch & Alder, Alex Grant of Delrachny

Woods of Deshar, Alders, Donald Grant in Port.

Woods of Delahapple, Robert Grant of Delahapple.

As great abuses have been committed in all the woods belonging to the family of Grant in Strathspey, tending not only to the very great loss of the Family, but which in a short time would be of still greater Loss to each individual tenant upon the estate; Therefore Mr. Grant of Grant intending to reform those abuses by putting each particular Bush or lesser wood under the Inspection of a person of credit & honesty in the neighbourhood of the same, desires you would take the care of the Bush of... Birch, Oak, & Alder... lying on... near to... & he expects that you will frequently inspect the same, & if you know or hear of any person who has cut, pull'd up, carried away or destroyed any tree, shrub, or part of said wood, you are hereby empowered to employ proper men to dacker and search for the same

immediately, & at same time send an account of such Transgression to Mr. Grant or his Doers, that they may assist in detecting the same. Mr. Grant will esteem your compliance with this as a favour to him, for which he will always be ready to make proper acknowledgement.

You will also take the trouble to attend such person or persons as have Warrants from Mr. Grant or his Doers for Wood out of that part under our care & take care that they be supplied by weeding the woods in a proper manner - & keep said warrants that they may be annually compared with the timber contained in them.

GD 248/38/1(6)

Appendix LX.

Letter: Peter May to James Grant, Clerk at Castle Grant,

Aberdeen
28th April 1766

Your favours of the 10th Current I duly received but it came too late with respect to the firs; they were sent away a day or two before, and as you had been extremely pressing in a former letter to have three hundred thousand sent you, I thought it was only answering a part of your commission to send you two and odds. I hope they came safe and fresh to Castle Grant, and I have reason to believe that upon comparison with those you had from Monymusk, the difference will be easily known. It was not in my power to provide you in more three-year olds than the 60,000 they are seldom to be met with and are as seldom enquired for. It will be obliging to write me a line acknowledging the receipt of them which according to my account is three year olds 60,000 and two year olds 217 for which the carrier brought a receipt from John Christy, the house they were left at in Keith. The expense of carriage from Aberdeen to Keith was one cart and one load horseback. The cart a shilling a mile, the horse 3d. viz: for both $1/3$ and for 30 miles at $1/3$ per mile is £1.17.6 Stg. Our carters and hirers in this place are extravagantly dear at all times of the year, but in the seed time they are extremely ill to be got, and remarkably unreasonably unreasonable in their demands which we are obliged to put up with, or want them altogether....

GD 248/226/1

Appendix LXI.

The following Resolutions have been circulate by the Inverness-shire Farmers Society among the County Parishes.

1. That the protection afforded to Barley and Oats in the scale now published by Government, is very greatly below a remuneratory price for the northern counties of Scotland, where the climate is severe and changeable, the land difficult to labour and the return to the husbandman scanty and uncertain.
2. That this Society concur entirely in the unanimous opinion of the County Meeting, held upon the 7th Inst. at Inverness, that 30/- per boll of Barley or 38s. per quarter and 26/- per quarter for oats, are not more than a fair and moderate remuneratory price for the northern counties of Scotland.
3. That Barley and Oats form the staple, and with little exception the only sorts of grain cultivated in these counties.
4. That the rates of protecting duty, and the points at which it is proposed to fix them, will, if adopted not only disable the cultivators from raising oats and barley, the grain suitable for these districts, oats straw providing the winter food, straw and turnip which is necessary to support their cattle and sheep, and to fit them for market; and that the consequences to these counties, the growing prosperity of which has been severely checked and in a great degree destroyed by the vicissitudes and inadequate prices of late years, must be of the utmost ruinous description.

Inverness Courier, 30 March 1827.

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